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NOTES OF THE WEEK

Britain and the Allies are likely to want every soldier they can keep with the colours for the next twelve months at least. An officer writes to us from abroad: "The more pessimistic officers here think that we shall be at war again by June, and a Bolshevik army, officered by German Junkers, will be sweeping through Europe: and where will President Wilson be then, poor thing?" There can be no doubt that the Bolsheviks are tempting by offers of enormous pay, luxurious quarters, unlimited champagne, and loot *ad lib.* all the officers they can collect from all the countries of the world. Two things puzzle us: where do the Bolsheviks get their food, and where do they get their munitions? Money they can always manufacture: but there must be a leakage of food and arms from some country, neutral or entente. Meanwhile our glorious working-men go on striking, and demanding the abolition of conscription.

Ever since the war began the newspapers have been dinning into our ears that aristocratic diplomacy had been weighed and found wanting. The lords and counts and princes, who had occupied the chanceries, were fumbler, if not secret traitors. Castlereagh was a scoundrel; Canning a trifler; Palmerston a bully; and Salisbury a fossil, while their foreign counterparts were ditto, or worse. Democracy would produce diplomats who would show the world how treaties should be made, without any hocus-pocus of secrecy. Well, the Conference has been sitting at Paris for over four months; their proceedings have been absolutely secret; and we have only been permitted to know that they have settled nothing. And yet there is not an aristocrat amongst them, for Mr. Balfour has proclaimed himself a democrat and Lord Robert Cecil is not a plenipotentiary.

What a triumph of democratic diplomacy! We shall get a treaty which Germany will not sign, and the American Senate will probably refuse to ratify. Metternich, Castlereagh, and Talleyrand could not have made a more hopeless bungle of the thing than Messrs. Wilson, Clemenceau and George. And whilst they are debating the rest of Europe is starving and Bolshevising. The Hungarians have now joined Lenin & Co., and the seriousness of the situation cannot be exaggerated. It looks as if we had only exchanged Kaiserism for Bolshevism; and of the two evils, we prefer Kaiserism. The Magyars of Hungary,

who have tyrannised over the Slavs, are ethnologically a curious race, being a mixture of Finn and Turco-Tartar. To those who have eyes it is plain that there can be no peace until Bolshevism in Russia and Eastern Europe is suppressed. But the democratic Entente will not send an army against the Bolsheviks, being itself honeycombed with Bolshevism.

Colonel Claude Lowther has furnished Mr. Bonar Law with a detailed statement showing how Germany can pay the 25,000 million pounds given by the Prime Minister as the war bill of the Allies. 1. The German war debt of 8,000 millions to be transferred to the Allies. 2. The German pre-war expenditure of 200 millions (about the same as our own) to be reduced to 40 millions, leaving 160 millions as the interest on 2,500 millions. 3. Work and materials to be provided by Germany for rebuilding France and Belgium, say, 3,000 millions. 4. The value of Alsace-Lorraine, the German Colonies, Mesopotamia, the coal-fields of Saarbrucke, the Trentino (which belongs to Austria, by the way), is put at 5,500 millions. The balance is 6,000 millions, the interest on which is 360 millions, an annual amount which, in Colonel Lowther's opinion, might easily be collected by an International Commission to run Germany's industries.

This is an ingenious calculation, but there are one or two trifling difficulties to be reckoned with. 1. The transference of the German interior debt means total bankruptcy, which in its turn spells Bolshevism. 2. It is proposed to reduce the total German national expenditure to 40 millions for a population of 75 millions, or a little over ten shillings a head, while Britain, with a population of 43 millions, will be spending 800 millions, or about twenty pounds a head; this year they are spending 1,500 millions, nearly forty pounds a head. Forty millions, the total national expenditure of Germany according to Colonel Lowther, is about what we are going to spend on Education alone. 3. The value of the captured colonies and territory is, of course, impossible to estimate: put it at 5,000 or 10,000 millions. But Colonel Lowther forgets that President Wilson has said that, except Alsace-Lorraine, there are to be no annexations, and that Mesopotamia and the Colonies are to be handed over in trust to the League of Nations. We are afraid that the Paris Conference will not get much assistance from Colonel Lowther's arithmetic.

Having just defeated Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria in the biggest war of all time we must be

excused if we decline to take very seriously "the insurrection" in Egypt. No doubt Mr. Churchill for the purpose of getting his compulsory service Bill through was obliged to paint the picture as sombrelly as he knows how, and it is dark enough in Europe, God knows. But the Egyptian affair is merely one of those risings of Arab students and unemployed pachas, which only require for their pacification the sight of a machine gun, and a regiment of bayonets. At the same time it would be well if the Government would appoint some one, a High Commissioner or somebody of the kind, to report on the measures necessary to "regularise" the status of Egypt, which is at present neither Turkish, nor British. Legally speaking, there is no such thing as an Egyptian.

The Cippenham Stores are like to prove a very Slough of Despond to the Government. The height or the depth of absurdity was reached on Wednesday, when Lord Inverforth read a portentously long document prepared in his office, and after wasting four hours in debate the Government agreed to a select committee of inquiry. It appears that the site was selected by General Smuts, who, however eminent a person, is a Dutchman from South Africa, and can know nothing of the beautiful Stoke Poges and Burnham neighbourhood, which is being ruined by this costly folly. The "business man in politics" is really becoming ridiculous. Lord Inverforth was clutched from a counting-house in Glasgow and thrust into the headship of a big office at Whitehall and finally into the House of Lords. The peers showed their resentment, quite properly, by walking out of the House, and leaving this glorified clerk to read his paper inaudibly to empty benches.

Sir George Buchanan made a powerful and pathetic speech at Edinburgh, in which he dwelt upon a topic so often dealt with by THE SATURDAY REVIEW, viz., the callous indifference displayed towards the murder of the Tsar and his young family. The anniversary of Charles the Martyr is still kept by a select band, and there are probably few who can read the story of his execution without deep emotion. The rage and grief over the trial and guillotining of Louis XVI and his Queen swept like a hurricane over England and Europe, and led to the beginning of the French wars. Yet surely the deaths of Charles and Louis were euthanasia compared with the savage butchery of the Tsar, his wife, his young son and daughters. Not an allusion, not a murmur of reproach, not a whisper of horror or regret, were allowed to escape the lips of one of our democratic statesmen, or find utterance in our democratic press. Instead of avenging this foul murder by invasion, the "hands-off Russia" party is powerful in the land.

Dr. Lennox Wainwright, in the *Sunday Times* this week, describes the causes of influenza exactly as the SATURDAY REVIEW has done for some time past. They are, bad food badly cooked, dirty clothes and furniture, and the crowding in trains, trams, theatres, and restaurants. When "the splendid women" cease to receive from Sir Robert Horne 25s. a week, as a solatium for being no longer wanted for war work, we may get our food cooked and our clothes washed. When the atrocious quality of the beef and mutton will improve, we know not. We are told that all the good home grown meat is sent to the East End, while the frozen "muck" is sent to the West End, and we quite believe it. As for the swarming of human beings, we suppose that can only be cured by the exodus of Americans and Colonials, which is proceeding as fast as may be. There are also in London a great many Belgians and French (mostly of the rich class) whose homes have been destroyed by the Germans. In time they, too, will go, and London will be herself again.

Sir Edmund Nott-Bower is the Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, one of the highest and best paid posts in the Civil Service. It would be well if Sir Edmund Nott-Bower would turn his attention, as

is his duty, to the administration of the Claims Branch of the Income Tax Commissioners at York House, Kingsway, which is neither more nor less than a public scandal. There are probably a million persons who are entitled to claim abatements of income tax. Many of them are women; many of them are without much knowledge of law or finance. They claim abatement, and they are at once entangled in a dilatory and confusing correspondence by some clerk, who does not even sign his name to the scraps of paper with which he keeps the claimant at bay, sometimes for months. Many of them summon bankers or solicitors to their aid, whom they have to pay. Many abandon their claims in despair or weariness. In the meantime the Treasury keeps millions to which it is not entitled.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, is one of the best trade-union officials, one of the most sensible and honest of them all. Yet what can be more deplorable than the remark which he let fall on Monday at the meeting at Unity House? "We say we are not going to be sweated any longer in order to provide cheap facilities for the public." Is not that the root, the *causa causans*, of all these labour strikes? Each Union or section of labour is out for all it can get for itself, quite regardless of the effect it may have on the public. Dear coal and high railway fares are nothing to the colliers and the railway union. The very serious consequences of the acceptance of the Coal Commission's report are not realised. They are two: coal will never be cheaper, and may be, probably will be, dearer. No capital will be forthcoming for sinking new coal mines, or re-equipping old ones.

The point to be remembered is that the £30,000,000 handed over by the Exchequer for increased wages to the coal-miners will be subtracted from the national revenue, which will be poorer by that sum. Secondly, the price of coal to the consumer, which is now 45s. to 46s. a ton, cannot be reduced, but may have to be increased, as there is still a deficiency of £13,000,000 to be made good, if the mining of coal is to go on; and this deficiency may be increased, if, as is more than probable, the higher wage and shorter day should lead to more absenteeism, and a smaller output. The result of handing over thirty millions from the State Exchequer to a single class can only benefit that class, and injure the rest of the community by increasing their taxes or the price of their necessities.

After the coal-miners the railwaymen. Mr. Smillie had stood in the lime-light so long that the railway agitators grew jealous, and they were determined to stand there too, and be photographed, and to extort as good a bargain from the State as Mr. Smillie. It is estimated that the demands of the railwaymen will mean £100,000,000 from the State. Poor old State! What will be left of her soon? There must come a time when no more slices are to be cut from the joint and that time is approaching rapidly. Let us consider. There are, we think, some thirty million adults of both sexes in these islands, taking away, as usual, a third for those under age. The women are at present a fraction more than the men. Of these thirty millions, we may say that ninety per cent. live by the labour of their hands or by clerical labour of a mechanical kind which is paid (sometimes) less than manual work. Of the remaining ten per cent., that is three millions, perhaps half are what the French called *rentiers*, but may be more accurately described as those who live on inherited property, whether money or lands. The remaining five per cent., about one and a half million persons, subsist by the sweat of the mind, that is, by the exercise of their mental faculties.

So rare is the capacity of postponing the present to the future by saving, and so rare are the financial and organising brains requisite for the management of business, and so rare are the talents requisite for suc-

ness in law, medicine, and art, that this residuum of ten per cent. do actually possess, or command in the shape of credit, far the greater part, four-fifths or five-sixths of the accumulated capital of the country. Tax that capital-owning residuum of ten per cent. of the population, or three million persons, out of existence, or into poverty or emigration, and the capital or the credit of the country will disappear. The masses of course can do it, being physically as nine to one; but to tax capital to death means bankruptcy, and bankruptcy would mean civil war—truisms which we can see demonstrated in Russia to-day.

These observations are, of course, economic truisms, yet to judge by the conduct of Government they appear to be very recondite truths, if not paradoxes. For where are we to stop on this decline of subsidising powerfully organised trades? The miners have just got £30,000,000; the railwaymen demand £100,000,000; the cotton and woollen trades, and the engineers, and the shipbuilders, are not likely to lag behind. The wages of the army and navy have been doubled. The salaries of the Civil Service will have to be raised; those of the diplomatic service have already been raised, clerical and domestic labour demands double pay. A new Education Act, involving large additional expenditure has been passed. A vast housing scheme, and a new Ministry of Health, both calling for State aid, are on the stocks. A million persons are receiving out-of-work "donations," costing a million pounds a week.

The Bill for the restoration of pre-war practices in Trade-Unions contains a sub-section and a section which are almost incredible, from their one-sidedness and unfairness to employers. By sub-section 2 of section 2, "proceedings against an employer for an offence under this Act may be instituted by or on behalf of a trade-union." It will be remembered that the point of the Trades Disputes Act, 1906, was and is that a trade-union can *not* be proceeded against in a court of law for the acts of its members. So that whilst an employer may be haled before a tribunal for the breach of some trade-union rule or practice by one or all of the trade-unions concerned, he cannot touch them, but is left to his remedy against an individual workman, which, of course, is valueless. When we add that by Section 3 the Crown is placed in the legal position of an ordinary employer, and may be "proceeded against" by a trade-union, we begin to wonder whether in the feudal ages the privilege of clergy or nobility or even royalty was ever so protective as that conferred on the trade-unions.

Protection may be right, or Free Trade may be right; but it is clearly wrong that our tariff policy should be settled by a Board of Trade Committee, sub-delegating its powers to sub-committees. We say this with reference to Lord Emmott's resignation of the chairmanship of the Advisory or Consultative Committee on the Restriction of Imports. Lord Emmott doesn't seem to see the absurdity of such a committee existing at all, now that the war is over. We suppose his answer would be that the war is not over, and that the blockade still exists. He resigned because the President of the Board of Trade wished to refer the restriction of imports to sub-committees, on which representatives of the trades affected should be in the majority, which is like asking a committee of Northampton shoemakers whether they think an import duty should be imposed on American boots and shoes.

Lord Emmott was right in principle, because in the imposition of import duties the whole community of consumers should be the decisive factor. This mixing up of tariffs with politics, and settling the matter by bargaining in committees, is the canker spot in the democracies of Canada and the United States; and we are sorry to see it creeping into the British Parliament, hitherto so free from this sordid element. Tariffs are the only politics of democracies, on both sides of the globe, and the business always ends in "deals" between different groups of manufacturers. "You

scratch me and I'll scratch you" is the tune: "you keep out woollens, and I'll keep out cottons." The consumer is the footballer kicked about in this game. Lord Emmott's place has been taken by Sir Samuel Hoare, the member for Chelsea, who, we fear, has not the technical or practical knowledge necessary for the chair of such a committee.

The masterly and informative debate on national finance which was initiated by Lord Faringdon on Tuesday, shows the absurdity of the Parliament Act, which deprived the House of Lords of all power over a financial Bill. Why, all the most eminent financiers of the country are in the House of Lords! Such speeches as those of Lord Faringdon, Lord D'Abernon, and Lord Faber, could not have been made in the House of Commons: and Lord Leverhulme, Lord St. Davids, Lord Inchcape, Lord Weir and Lord Colwyn, have not spoken. Yet such is the insane jealousy of democracy that these practitioners of high finance are prevented by the Parliament Act from so much as suggesting an amendment to a finance Bill! Even an amendment by the Lords to a Rent and Rating Bill has just been declared by the Speaker to be contrary to the privilege of the Lower House.

Lord Faringdon pointed out that high wages meant high prices for the necessities of life, and said truly that there were many desirable measures of social reform, costing huge sums, which ought to be postponed until the country was once more paying its way. "Cut your coat according to your cloth" was the substance of this wise speech. Lord D'Abernon told us that the value of money had fallen more heavily in the last four years than in the preceding four hundred years, more, indeed, than at any period in history not excepting the post-Waterloo period. Lord Peel, with all his cleverness and power of pleasant speech, has no practical knowledge of high finance: and putting him up to answer these financial magnates was rather like the earthenware pot sailing amongst the iron pots. Unless he was misreported by the man in the gallery, or unless, (as is suggested in our Correspondence column), some clever member of the Compositors' Union tampered with his figures, Lord Peel talked nonsense about direct and indirect taxation.

According to *The Times'* report Lord Peel is made to say that the proportion between direct and indirect taxation, including the excess profits tax, is as 18.63 is to 81.37; and that there should be no mistake, the former figure is described as direct and the latter indirect taxation. Surely, Lord Peel must have said the reverse, unless indeed, he calls excess profits duty indirect taxation. The excess profits tax is, of course, direct taxation, indirect taxation meaning duties on articles of consumption. Lord Milner tried to minimise the huge total of expenditure by saying that the war had transferred wealth from one class of the community to another, while the total capital wealth remained pretty much the same as it was before. This is, in the main, true, and makes the hardship of the position. The very difficult task of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is to lighten the burthen for those from whom wealth has been taken, and to throw it on those to whom wealth has been transferred.

Does anybody read his *Times* newspaper through? We notice with dismay that it now numbers twenty-four pages, of which it boasts on the front page. Democracy looks to quantity, not quality, as getting one's money's worth (and it will be found that *The Times* has copied the American papers in its preposterous bulk). Allowing four pages for advertisements, it leaves twenty pages to be read. Giving ten minutes to a page, surely quick reading, that means 200 minutes, or three hours and twenty minutes, to the morning paper! Sir Walter Raleigh said in one of his recent essays that the man who hasn't time to read his morning paper is generally a man who counts. Classing ourselves humbly with the men who are counted, not with those who count, we venture to suggest to the editor of *The Times* that his paper would be twice as effective if it were half as long.

THE MEANING OF IT ALL.

CHRISTIANITY, according to the Dean of St. Paul's, cannot be said to have failed, because it has never been tried. It is a bitter saying, both true and false. Christianity has been tried for nineteen centuries; but the Dean means that it has not been properly tried. We will not discuss that point with Dr. Inge; it would require a volume of historical and theological disputation. Our contention is that judged by the facts of the last twelve years and by the present position of affairs, both in England and in Europe, Christianity has failed and is dead. Does anyone deny it, who is not paid to affirm the contrary? And when we say Christianity, we mean Christianity as a national system of religious belief dictating and insuring obedience to a national code of conduct. There are perhaps millions of pious persons, who cherish in their minds a passionate belief in the story of

"the sinless years

That breathed beneath the Syrian blue,"

and in the ethical teaching of the Master. But we are now speaking of the belief of the masses, and the doctrine of the State, as the government appointed by the masses. We have still an Established Church, it is true, and its worship is still conducted with reverence, sometimes with splendour, and is in some places attended by numerous worshippers. But of spiritual authority there is none, and as an ethical engine in the national life to-day Christianity is as dead as the pagan mythology in the first three centuries of the Roman empire. Indeed, there is a striking resemblance between the moral condition of the world to-day and that of the Roman empire during the first three or four centuries that followed the birth of Christ. It was a transition period, and has been thus described by the pen of De Quincey:—"At present, when the pagan religion had virtually died out, all secret restraints were breaking up; a general delirium carried, and was felt to carry, a license into all ranks; it was not a negative merely, but a positive change. A religion had collapsed—that was negative; a mockery had been drawn into high relief—that was positive. It was not that restraints were resisted; there were none to resist, they had crumbled away spontaneously. What power still acted upon society? Terror from police; and still, as ever, the divine restraints of love and pity, honour, and domestic affections. But the conscience spoke no longer through spiritual organs." Is not this an accurate description of the condition of Europe and of England to-day? There is no spiritual authority, because there are no spiritual organs through which it can act. Is it not true of England to-day, that "all secret restraints are breaking up," and that "a general delirium" is carrying "a license into all ranks"? We have suddenly awakened from a dream of comfort and security to find that all restraints have "crumbled away spontaneously." What else is the meaning of all these strikes on every side? Upon examination we think it will be found that all peaceful and civilised societies have been supported by two pillars or buttresses, spiritual authority, and the sentiment of deference for the possessors of property or education or rank, hereditary or official. Both these pillars have suddenly been pulled away. The masses of handworkers deny the authority of the Church, or rather they ignore it. As for deference, their sentiments have been best expressed by the late Stephen Reynolds in a book called 'Seems So,' of which the choral note is, "What we want to know is, who's our betters and why are they so?" In their more serious moods, the deferential spirit of the masses is embodied in a repetition of Proudhon's saying that all property is theft.

Christianity saved the old world from the moral consequences of the wreck of mythology. What is going to save the new world from the more awful consequences that will flow from the wreck of Christianity? Dean Inge suggests that some of us, at all events, should try the simple life. Some of us

will have to try it, whether we like it or not. But that will not save the State, for the simple life will never be tried by the majority, unless compelled to it by capture or defeat in war. In truth the simple life has been recommended to us northern peoples by philosophers, who lived in a southern climate where nothing more than a barbarous simplicity was attainable by the richest. We are not speaking of the Romans, whose luxury was as great as our own, but of the Greeks, a poor and shifty people. To the smart Athenian crowd who spent the afternoon in logic-chopping with Socrates, or to those who attended the lectures of Aristotle, it was easy to preach the simple life, as easy as making a speech on economy in the House of Commons. But after twenty years of electric light, and telephones, and motor-cars, with aviation just opening a new vista of luxurious locomotion, Dr. Inge will find his disciples few indeed. We may be driven to simplicity; we shall not come to it willingly.

The Bishop of Peterborough believes in nationalisation, and assures us that "there is a rising tide of opinion within the Christian Church . . . an increasing perception in the Church . . . that every economic problem has its moral side, and that where there is a choice between various organisations of industrial life preference must be given to those which are believed more adequately to express the principles of fellowship laid down in the New Testament." We quite agree, but we should be more than obliged to the reverend prelate if he would explain to us (as he made no attempt to do it in his letter to *The Times* of the 21st inst.) in what way the organisation which is known as the Triple Alliance of Coal Miners, Railwaymen, and Transport Workers, expresses, adequately or inadequately, "the principles of fellowship laid down in the New Testament." Which of the beatitudes applies to them? Are they the meek? or the peacemakers? Or are they those who agree with their adversary quickly? To the non-episcopal eye they appear as a very powerful organisation which is levying blackmail on the necessities of a helpless community. But to the Bishop of Peterborough nationalisation is a blessed word. Does the Bishop realise that nationalisation means the extinction of individual enterprise, and indeed of individual property, except in the form of a State annuity? The reason why Messrs. Straker and Smillie and the Bishop's railway-guard passionately demand the substitution of the State for the individual, is simply that they wish to drag everybody down to the same level, and that they are driven mad by the sight of wealth in others, as exhibited by the ordinary symbols of good clothes, houses, servants, motors, etc. Dr. Woods is young, and sanguine, and believes that nationalisation plus the Sermon on the Mount can save the world. Our view, sorrowfully formed from the facts of the last twelve years, since 1906, is that the Sermon on the Mount has been thrown into the waste-paper basket by the trade unions, and that all the bishops on the bench cannot recover it. There remains nationalisation, a subject on which we can't do better than give the Bishop of Peterborough a quotation from Sir Henry Maine, once the most famous Professor of the Bishop's University. "There are two sets of motives, and two only, by which the great bulk of the materials of human subsistence and comfort have hitherto been produced and reproduced. One has led to the cultivation of the territory of the Northern States of the American Union, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The other had a considerable share in bringing about the industrial and agricultural progress of the Southern States, and in old days it produced the wonderful prosperity of Peru under the Incas. One system is economical competition; the other consists in the daily task, perhaps fairly and kindly allotted, but enforced by the prison or the scourge. So far as we have any experience to teach us, we are driven to the conclusion, that every society of men must adopt one system or the other, or it will pass through penury to starvation" ('Popular Government,' p. 52). The Bishop is apparently on the side of

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the Incas, but it may moderate his enthusiasm to learn, or to be reminded, that during the first French Revolution an elaborate scale of fines and imprisonments was necessary to make citizens do the work of nationalised industries. We have stated clearly our ascription of the present political and industrial anarchy to the decay of religion and the disappearance of subordination. We cannot accept the prelatial prescription for our disease. We can only hope that, as chaos is the natural prologue to creation, some new formula will emerge, which will reconcile modern sentimentality to the old, old principles of common sense and common honesty.

PARIS TO LONDON BY AIR.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT).

THERE are many ambitious projects for regular aerial services metaphorically, but not as yet literally in the air. But there is one service which has actually been in operation for some time, and which, so far as we know, is the only regular service for purposes other than military yet established. We allude to the regular mail and passenger service which (weather permitting) plies daily between the Buc aerodrome (Paris) and the Hendon aerodrome (London). To the British air service belongs the credit of the first practical demonstration that flying as a means of travelling is, at the immediate moment, and not at some future time vaguely anticipated, seriously a competitor of locomotion by land and water. The significance of this feat is emphasised by the fact that the service has been in operation through the worst months of the year. The bad weather conditions, while they have made the service irregular, have shown that it can be run safely and without confusion as an alternative to the ordinary land and water service. Trustworthy meteorological reports can be received sufficiently early to enable the authorities to notify His Majesty's Mails or passengers, who are booked for the air, whether conditions are such as to permit of the journey. In default of suitable weather for the air passage, there is time enough to make other arrangements.

The Paris to London service is not of course open to the public. "I am no fee'd post," our pilot would say if the need arose, like the Duke's messenger in a famous play. The service is at present confined to carrying urgent mails in connection with the work of the Peace Conference and transporting members of the British Delegation, whose work is sufficiently important to make them free of the air. The advantages are obvious. Even with every facility that our diplomatic service can secure for travellers to and from Paris, the journey under present conditions is tedious and exasperating in the extreme. It is rarely accomplished under twelve hours. The boats and trains are crowded. The delays are frequent and prolonged. Travelling by air one waits for nobody; one is free from the necessity of continually presenting sheaves of forms relating to food, aliens, embarkation and so forth, and probably losing some of them by the way; and one arrives in two hours twenty minutes even on a bad day. One is not necessarily colder than upon the deck of a channel steamer in March; there is a pleasant breeze and a good view of the country; there is also an immunity from sea-sickness and such physical ills as are likely to arise from the hasty consumption of a déjeuner somewhere between Paris and Boulogne (première, deuxième ou troisième service) of which we have had to deprive our less enterprising fellow travellers. Those who consider that these advantages are cancelled by risks which no responsible person should wantonly incur or discomforts sharp in proportion to their brevity, are either extremely nervous or somewhat ill-informed. The hospitable officers at Buc or Hendon provide elaborately for the comfort of their visitors, though this may entail fitting a passenger who is five feet three inches into a suit constructed for six feet two. As to air-

sickness, this only needs to be said: if a pilot wanted to make his passenger sick, he could probably do so in ways known to experts of the profession. Normal progress through the air, even on a rough day, involves nothing worse than being occasionally slapped and bumped and dropped—pleasantries which have nothing of the disconcerting and treacherous import of the apparently more lenient motions of a bad day in the Channel.

Members of the British Delegation in Paris are in a position to judge to what extent the general public is likely to avail itself of the new means of locomotion. The Delegation is a fairly representative body. All ages and dispositions are to be found. Elderly gentlemen, not conspicuously dashing, come and go by air, as a matter of course. The public will settle down to the idea of travelling by air faster than our grandfathers settled down to the idea of travelling behind a steam engine. It is less disconcerting, we imagine, for a person who has travelled in an express train or a fast motor car to travel in a D.H. 4 than it was for a person who had never travelled faster than a stage coach to realise that he was going sixty miles an hour and had entrusted his life to the care and fidelity of a fallible human being in a signal box. The coming popularity of the air is no longer a matter of speculation. The general public will take to the air as kindly as the residents of the Hotel Majestic. These same residents have now to be officially restrained from claiming the privilege of the air. Unless they are able to plead that the less satisfactory route by land and water will not serve their official purposes, they are firmly discouraged by the authorities.

The weather report comes through to the hotel about half-past eight in the morning. If it is favourable, one thankfully turns one's back upon the Gare du Nord and the horrors which lie behind its portals and drives out into the Bois and the fair country beyond. In half-an-hour one arrives at Buc by way of woods and terraces and glimpses of the river. One is forced into a kind of diving dress, hoisted into a "bus," and, if new to the business, instructed not to put one's foot on the controls. Thereafter comes an odd two hours of solitary contemplation of the world and the works of man from a novel point of view. The continual roar of the engine and the monotonous rush of wind induce meditation. We feel that Teufelsdröckh in his tower had but limited opportunities for philosophising as compared with our own. It is pleasant to see a village, the merest toy of a village, lost in the gloom of a dull day, but presently to be struck unawares with the travelling sunlight. For our wings are Olympian and we see before the event what is in store for mankind, sunlight or shadow. We realise how easy it would be to see human history as a play, tragical, pastoral, historical, and so through all the degrees of Polonius, if only we could get sufficiently far away. Paris passes away from us on our left, absurdly pretty, absurdly small, obviously amusing. The big woods where people can get lost, the fields where generations have laboured ("man comes and tills the field and lies beneath"), the highways and hills and rivers which have determined the course of history, are simply entertaining, and we wonder how for one moment we could ever have taken them seriously. The splendour of cities, the squalor of suburbs, the lure of rivers and roads, the mystery of woods, the nobility of hills—all these things are confounded and lost in a mere prettiness as of toys divertingly arranged to please us. Passing from France to England across a stretch of sea tidily breaking into white ribbons of foam, along the shore and dotted with toy steamers with real wakes to them as in a conventional picture, one notes, quite in the spirit of Fabre with his bramble bees, that upon one side of the water men prefer to build their roads as straight as a ruler, whereas on the other side they prefer them to wander and lose themselves. And we just wonder why the curious little creatures should behave thus and not otherwise.

One can imagine an artist of the modern school being profoundly resentful of the world as seen from

an aeroplane in a cross-country flight. He would feel that it was all too charming to be true. Skimming the underside of a cloud is almost pure Drury Lane. The one thing that relieves our mild pleasure in a monotonous prettiness belying all our old human standards of significance and beauty is a curious sort of satisfaction at having for a moment secured a new perspective, a sense of remoteness and superiority, such as seasons our contemplation of things played upon the stage.

And then a sudden relief from the noise which has become part of our physical condition of being surprises us, and looking down we suddenly perceive that even the Edgware Road can be quaintly picturesque from two thousand feet and that we are beginning to circle down towards Hendon. A few moments later we can exchange views with the pilot for the first time since leaving Paris. We have come over in just over two hours. But for the grace of the air we should be somewhere between Paris and Boulogne with all the sordid details of a channel crossing before us and a prospect of reaching London, with luck, in time for supper.

THE BOOT ON THE OTHER LEG.

SINCE the retirement from active politics of the Kaiser, the Crown Prince, Hindenburg, Ludendorff, von Bethmann-Hollweg, and the row of transient and exceedingly embarrassed phantoms who filled in rapid succession the shoes of the last-named, there is probably no German individual less unfamiliar by name to the British public than Matthias Erzberger. This statesman was, during the closing years of the Empire, a fairly conspicuous member of the "majority Socialist"—meaning Socialists in favour of the war—party in the Reichstag. He is understood at present to be something like Prime Minister to the gentleman with a generally similar record who presides over something alleged to be what is left of the German Empire. He was one of the Germans who accepted for their country the armistice of last November, and he still occupies a conspicuous position as one of the German agents for receiving orders at Brussels or Spa, as the case may be. He will presumably come in due course to Versailles to accept whatever terms of peace it is eventually decided to impose upon his country.

In July, 1917, he was concerned in the passing by the Reichstag of the resolution in favour of peace without victory of which a great deal has since been heard, and he subsequently wrote a treatise in favour of the establishment of a League of Nations.* The "author's preface" is dated September, 1918—and the work may very likely have appeared when the war still seemed capable of continuing another twelvemonth, and some days before the surrender of Bulgaria began the collapse of the Central Powers. Whatever his sources of information, or his own opinion, may have been, the book is manifestly based upon the assumption that Germany will have at least as much to say to the terms of peace as any other belligerent. He holds most strongly, with President Wilson and others, that the League of Nations must be the foundation of peace, and the League which he contemplates closely resembles in principle that which is indicated in the "Covenant" adopted by the Peace Conference in accordance—as far as it goes—with the suggestions of General Smuts. In detail, however, they are as wide asunder as the poles. According to the Covenant, the Council of the League—which is the League, for all essential and nearly all purposes—is to be under the permanent control, as long as they agree, of five Powers, the United Kingdom, France, the United States, Italy and Japan. Herr Erzberger's League depends for its existence upon the co-operation also of five Powers, but not the same five. His nominations are "The German Empire, Great Britain, France, the United States of North America, Russia." He calls

them first-class Powers, and suggests that they should "each preside over the plenary session for one year, in their alphabetical order in the French language." The translator points out that the French for Germany is *Allemagne*, which begins with A, and the translation seems to be accurate. It is quite likely that Herr Erzberger considers the country of which he is now a minister as the precise equivalent of "the German Empire." By "Russia" he means the Power which was a party to the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, of which—as of the treaty of Bucharest—he writes as if it was something more than a scrap—or several scraps—of paper.

The events which have happened since the publication of this work have deprived it of any practical importance it might ever have had, but some interest still attaches to it as the German proposals equivalent, before the ruin of Germany was consummated, to those which President Wilson and General Smuts have embodied in the League of Nations Covenant. The two, *mutatis mutandis*, are really very much alike. The matter upon which Herr Erzberger is most passionately in earnest is the freedom of the seas. It is an essential point of his League of Nations that the sea must be free. Now the word free—though some people never find it out—is meaningless unless you specify what the free person or thing is to be free from, and on this point no one could possibly be clearer than Herr Erzberger. The sea is to be free from England. "England must sacrifice her Navy. All the nations will then be able to breathe freely; all will be equally secure." And not only during war must the sea be free. The "most important trade routes" must, in times of peace, "no longer lie in the hands of one Power." The meaning of this is that "straits and coaling-stations" must be "internationalised." The Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal are marked out by name for this treatment. But note that it would be totally inadmissible to interfere with the control of the Corinth Canal or the Kiel Canal, because both banks of these "lie in the hands of one State." Germans are said to be very resolute in their ignorance of what they do not choose to know, and it is possible that in September last Herr Erzberger may have believed that the east bank of the Suez Canal was not in Egypt. In any case there must be no warships, and no fighting at sea, and private property at sea must be as safe during war as during peace, and this vitally important matter "is never disregarded by any utterance of President Wilson's or of Germany's."

Another point of great importance which, in the interest of civilization, must be regulated by the League of Nations, is the possession of colonies. "Germany has earned a moral claim to the possession of extensive colonies." All German writers seem to regard colonies of any sort as chattels, and hitherto they have been most unfairly divided. Herr Erzberger has prepared a table, both neat and impressive, showing the number of square miles and of inhabitants which each ten of the subjects of the principal colonising Powers had, before the war, "at their disposal." Every ten Englishmen were the proud owners of nearly three square miles of territory and 95 inhabitants, while every ten Germans had only 0.115 square miles and two inhabitants. "The British," therefore, "are in land 25 times, in inhabitants 47 times as well supplied as the Germans." This flagrant "injustice" would be but very slightly mitigated if Germany "were to receive, in addition to her former colonies, the Portuguese and Belgian colonies forming a Central African Empire." This was published in September of last year. Was it ignorance, impudence, or rather heavy fun? Whichever of the three it was, it is what the Germans would call colossal when you come to consider that the human beings we have, according to the above calculation, "at our disposal," obviously include not only all the three hundred million inhabitants of India, but all the white men in Canada, Australia, and the other Dominions.

Herr Erzberger appends to his work a "Draft of the Constitution of the League of Nations." Except for the difference of persons it really differs very little from

* The League of Nations: The Way to the World's Peace. By M. Erzberger, Member of the Reichstag. Translated by Bernard Miall. Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d.

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that foreshadowed by General Smuts in his pamphlet, and in part adopted by the Covenant. All doors are to be open. There are to be either no customs or export duties, or the same for everybody. Everyone, especially the German bagman, is to be admitted on terms of equality in every market and every port. If anyone goes to war, or threatens to go to war, he must be first boycotted by all members of the League, and then brought to reason by their combined warlike operations—which, however, must be confined to the land, and presumably the air, because armed ships are not to be allowed. The whole thing, in the light of the armistice and the approaching peace, looks exquisitely silly. But change the names of the ruling powers, and turn the disabling clauses against Germany instead of against England, and it is not silly in the least. It may be ambitious, it may be autocratic, it may be an endeavour to establish the "world-power" of the victors in the war, and it may be unquestionably doomed to failure as a device for ensuring perpetual peace, but these criticisms are hardly more applicable to it than they are to the League of Nations now struggling into existence at Paris.

WOMEN AT THE BAR.

THE proposal to make women eligible for the bench—for that in effect is proposed—is startling even in these troubled times. To the newest phase of "womancipation," as it has been called, there is a fundamental objection which never could be taken before. The barrister's profession is one of contention—the only one—and therefore undesirable for women.

Their disqualification for the bar is imposed by nature, for woman's education, in this country, at any rate for centuries, has been such that her intellect, her temper and her sense of honour are different from those of her countrymen. This is what Meredith meant by saying that she would be the last thing man would civilise. Her schooling has, no doubt, very much improved in the last fifty years and the modern rapid succession of franchises is due to the premature murmurings of ambition thus excited. But the time is not yet ripe for the lady-gladiator to go down into the arena.

What qualities does "the Law" require? We will not take the word of the jealous successful practitioner whose livelihood is threatened. We will ask a competent French critic and *avocat*, De Franqueville, who had thoroughly studied our *forum*. "Lord Lyndhurst used to say, 'When I have to nominate a judge, I look for a gentleman; it is so much the better, if he knows a little law.' In truth he was right. The bar rarely furnishes eminent juris-consults to the bench, but it gives it what is more precious still, men of honour, having the master qualities of the judge, independence, probity, impartiality, experience and good sense." (Le Système judiciaire de la Grande Bretagne, c.g.) Can any one say that this is a picture of the normal English lady? Has she, for instance, the experience of life which the writer means? And what is there in the present moment to make it an epoch in the evolution of the sex? County Councils are things of yesterday, the House of Commons is seven hundred years old, but the bar has existed since the *rhetoires* plagued the Athenians, and who ever heard of a successful female advocate? Two indeed occur—one in fact, one in fiction—the wise widow of Tekoah, who told tales to David (and by the way, herself broke down under cross-examination) and Portia, who was a loved and lovable woman, but whom even Shakespeare could not make anything but a lawyer *pour rire*. But we are not driven to negative evidence. The experiment has been tried and has failed and that amongst the most "legal" of all nations, except, perhaps our own. It is well known that the Romans excluded women from "civil and public" offices, in which they included appearing in court or being an attorney (*procurator*) for another, though they seem to have tolerated their "getting

up" the case and the pleadings for the orator (and Juvenal apparently thought that even this was a scandal). But it seems to have escaped notice that the statutory prohibition was the result of experience. "The reason," says Ulpian, "for stopping it (about 50 B.C.) was to prevent their taking part in other people's suits, in violence to the reserve (*modestia*) which becomes them, so that women should not do men's work. The occasion came from one Carfania, an awful person, who, by her reckless pleading and importuning the judge, was the cause of the edict" (Digest, Bk. 3, l. 5). Here we get, as it were in a focus, the argument from psychology, which is governed by the laws of nature and not by the respective temperaments of Latium and London. Imagine two Carfaniae in an English court. Everyone has heard of the *Camaraderie* of the English bar; take this actual instance. "Speak up," says A to his opponent's, B's, witness. "Really, Mr. A," says B, "You ought to hear; I can and your ears are younger than mine." "But not so long," was the retort; *solvuntur tabulae*, &c., and the two walked home arm-in-arm. But would a woman ever forgive such a hit? Meredith, again, who knew women, if ever a man did, speaks "of the hopeless task of defending a woman from a woman." Indeed, with a lady "against" her, one must needs pity a female defendant or respondent in the Divorce Court. It was not without reason that in 1873 when some ladies claimed the right of graduating as doctors at Edinburgh, Lord Ardmillan said that he could not hold "that there is such an original inherent legality, fitness, appropriateness and expediency in the study and practice of medicine by women as to be of itself sufficient to overcome the presumption arising from the contrary custom of centuries." Is not this true a *fortiori* of law? And *apropos* of Scotland when that practical country admits women among its lawyers, it will be time enough for us to consider it.

Of other countries where the innovation has been made, for instance, France and some of the United States, in the absence of precise information, it is safe to conclude that no remarkable success has attended it. In fact, the only historical instance of complete "equal authority" of the sexes is the Issedonians, who, indeed, according to Herodotus, "were reputed to be observers of justice," but who ate their own fathers. The commentators add that Dr. Livingstone actually found such equality in an African tribe, and that among the Nairs of Malabar there is something like a gynocracy.

Then can it be said that the female intellect has a special capacity for the law? Nobody pretends that a running down case or an action for money had and received requires a master mind for its conduct, but it is common knowledge that the talents adequate to such a strain are already overflowing in the Inns. Indeed, even in their depleted condition during the war, they could always supply men to argue even really difficult points of law or to explore the hitherto dark unfathomed depths of "public policy." "Law," said Dr. Johnson, "is the science in which the greatest powers of understanding are applied to the greatest number of facts." Not even a feminist could contend that any characteristic excellence of his clients matches this noble conception of the profession, or any other of equal dignity, and if it does not, where is the public advantage? Nor is there such a thing as "a call" for advocacy; a woman may be fascinated by medicine, or the theatre, or the literary life, or what not, for she may have opportunities every day of testing her powers, but how can she think that she is a born advocate? It is the life in court, in public, that is the stumbling block to the new aspirants; if they merely want to study law or to practise conveyancing or to "devil" for a barrister, there is no rule or regulation—and never has been—of any sort or kind to stop them, if, like any one else, they can find the people for their turn. And similarly they are already free to advise any clients who choose to consult them. But *alii . . . orabunt causas melius*. Much the same is true of the special work

of the so-called "lower branch." But to anyone who is acquainted with the economy of the average solicitor's office, the extension of the propaganda to that sanctum is merely ludicrous. The vision of the family solicitor ought to inspire the most stickit comic dramatist. For the moment, too, the solicitors have enough to think about in "Fusion."

Indeed, from many points of view, the time is singularly unhappy for pressing a change which has modestly waited for five or six centuries. No doubt this is a "stock" objection. "Punch is not as good as it was," said a critic to the editor. "It never was," replied Burnand. But, for once, is it not true that the times are indeed out of joint? It is no hyperbole to say that no nation was ever engaged in a more colossal tidying up than we are at this moment. We have just remodelled the electorate and elementary education—the former in homage to feminism; the Army, the Navy, the Lords, commerce and labour now await their turn. We cannot have all revolutions at once. Surely it is common-sense to pause and settle down "after the war," before we begin another. And it might be prudent to get some inkling of the number of ladies who want to adorn wig and gown, before we disturb an ancient system.

"All this dread order break? for whom? for thee?" It would hardly be a parody to read, "for whom? for three?"

Happily, the immediate issue is in the hands of moderate and learned men, who know that encroachment begets encroachment. The interest of the Benchers is opposed to the spirit of merely plausible innovation, for in their dominions it would infallibly lead to a demand for popular election instead of co-option in their own case. Throughout their long generations they have always been faithful to their unique trust and now that they are confronted for the first time with the problem of epicenity, they will, no doubt, deal faithfully with it.

WATER-COLOURISTS.

THE Royal Institute of Water Colours, the other night, ushered peace conditions in with the resumption of its banquet, at which "stars" like Mr. Justice Darling and what used to be Sir F. E. Smith performed, each according to his lights and his ideas of badinage supplemented by appropriate art talk. Their wit need not detain us; the "appropriate" art criticism may just engage attention.

One speaker reminded his audience of French admiration for English water-colour, thereby giving the Royal Institute a warm comfortable feeling of national importance and deserts. But, ungracious though it be to check or chill this glow, we cannot let pass the implication that the sort of water-colour practised by this Institution as a body finds any favour with discerning amateurs of English Water-colour. For the art that fascinated the French was that of Girtin, Turner, Cotman and their immediate following: the water-colour, in short, that preceded Birket Foster. The French even in their poorest times of creative art were good craftsmen: the worst painters of the monarchical decadence were clean and clever brush men. Logically, therefore, they would be attracted by the lucid fitness and uncompromising rightness of the early English water-colour school, and repelled by the confusion and perversion of the water-colourists. In French eyes the use of their medium by Girtin, Cotman and Turner was admirable, because it demonstrated new possibilities and produced a quality which oil pigment could not give. Water-colour was revealed as a new vehicle, differing from oil as the moon differs from the sun in beauty. Its *raison d'être* was its transparent, fluid property and texture; its use was conditioned by these very qualities. The swift washes, and simple planes, the selection and economy of our pre-Birket Foster School of water-colour were delightful to the French, because they were the fittest and best use of a beautiful and unrivalled medium.

But, alas, the favourite traditions of the Royal Institution are Birket Foster's; the birthright of this charming medium, sold by that successful painter for the spurious attractions of oil painting, is unredeemed in Piccadilly. The Institution as a whole does not practice the water-colour respected by the French, but a bastard thing composed of the worst potentialities of water and oil colour. Vile though it be, the oil finish of a Van der Werff, a W. Mieris or a Nattier has a certain merit of crisp craftsmanship and skill. On the other hand the oil finish of a Collins, a Leader or a Marcus Stone has the usual limitations of English academic craftsmanship. Conceive then the result when to this mediocre standard is joined the inevitable fluffiness and smudge of over-worked water-colour.

This prevailing quality in the Royal Institute is, however, chequered, here and there, by a real water-colour. The most notable (some of the best War industrial pictures we have seen) are Mr. Fred Taylor's shipbuilding drawings, Nos. 395 and 133, and Mr. Clark's 258, 'Dazzle painting of H.M.S. Argus' and 'Repairs' (31). Both painters succeed, working on a large scale. The feat of making so large a line drawing as Mr. Taylor's 395 is in itself remarkable. This artist's sense of form, scale and design is so developed that we can afford to wait patiently till his colour becomes as internal and significant. Miss Hawksley's drawings are obviously attractive: they are tasteful, accomplished and sincere. But, somehow they seem superficial, the products of infinite artistic application and embellishment, rather than of inspiration. One might imagine Miss Hawksley, like some Penelope, going on and on; to-day adding this charming note of red, to-morrow that touch of blue or green. Her works do not seem to have unfolded, as it were, from the inside outwards, but to have received from outside a loving intermittent embroidery. Her "Portrait" (423) is almost a *reductio ad absurdum* of her method. Miss Airy's water-colours are so good, her craftsmanship and perception so true and sure that we sometimes regret her excursion into the oil medium. Other artists in this exhibition who understand the qualities of water-colour are Mr. Van Anrooy, Miss D. Adamson, Mr. Ranken and Mrs. England.

The whole question is absurdly simple. Water-colour will stand very little handling, and as surface consistency or texture can only be imitated at the cost of repeated washes and hatchings, it follows that such imitations must result in bad water-colour. Even the greatest virtuoso in water-colour, Turner, comes to grief when he tinkers and touches on his drawings. The admirable show of water-colours at Messrs. Agnew's Gallery has quite a number of his failures. That Turner's failures are often better than another's successes may be true; none the less the gulf between his perfect and bad drawings is wide. For example his famous 'Chillon,' 'Richmond Bridge' and 'Prudhoe Castle' compare poorly, as water-colours and consequently as art, with his 'Lucerne' (130), 'Swiss Landscape' or 'Ehrenbreitstein' (138). We may gasp at his resourcefulness in stipple, washings out and hatchings in; but yet we can only say that his worked up engravers' water-colours are exquisite in parts and, by a miracle, in spite of their quality. Young opinion runs against Turner to-day, mainly on account of his cheapening elaborations. But yet how peerless and unattainable his purest vision! His 'Blue Rigi' may well be, humanly speaking, the final, perfect utterance of the wonder and emotion evoked by dawn. Then look at 'Saltash,' and marvel at his drop to commonplace.

This exhibition is well chosen to display the course of English water-colour, from its fit use towards its abuse. In such a drawing as G. Robson's 'Ben Venue' we see the beginning of the end, as from the Girtins, the Cotmans and some of the De Wints we can infer its finest quality. De Wint is so unequal that often he seems overrated; but in such a drawing as No. 13, he stands with Constable and other masters who, revealing new things, tell them better than their followers. In 'Crowland Abbey,' on the contrary, he is little but a dullard, missing the greatness of a theme by reason of an amateurish interest in penny facts.

One word should be said on the point of texture. No reflections shall be cast on Sir David Murray's taste in colour, his fondness for shades of pink and heather. But if we compare his rocks with those in Cotman's 'Lake Scene' (No. 1, at Messrs. Agnew's) we shall note that the former's differ in solidity and hardness, not a whit from his soft clouds, whereas Cotman's are grave and adamant. Sir David's views of water-colour permit him to attempt variations of local tone and colour and accidents of petty modelling which Cotman's purer canon eschewed. Yet, as we have noticed, the latter's expression of the character of rocks incalculably surpasses the former's. The reason is that Cotman's brief statement is a summary of fundamental structure, whereas Sir David's lengthy exposition is a rambling treatise on mere surface, couched in a medium which by nature is incapable of success in such a task.

CORRESPONDENCE

A TRIPLET OF QUESTIONS.

To the Editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—Amid the monsters and spectres which the Government that conjured them up are seeking, however superficially, to allay, may I be permitted to ask three pertinent questions?

(1) Is it true that in the published reports of the Miners' Commission proceedings, a material portion of the Coal Owners' case was suppressed by the action of Trade Union compositors?

(2) Is it also true that some of the cleverer proprietors were not summoned as witnesses on that Commission?

(3) Is it true that a very large sum of money has been sent here from abroad for the furtherance of Bolshevik propaganda, while our Government has not deemed it consonant for what is ironically termed "the public interest," to arrest or impede or deport the promoters of this poison? It is certainly curious that the Labour crisis should synchronise with German threats to reject the Allies' peace terms.

As regards Foreign Affairs, I could ask yet another question, viz., whether it is the case that the Italian Government have put forward claims for large compensations in money for the death of prisoners by Turkish maltreatment, but that close inquiry has revealed that a material proportion of these victims died in Italy from the neglect of their compatriots, and that, but for the self-sacrificing efforts of our own Red Cross, a much greater number would have perished. "Open diplomacy"! Where is it, and why do Trade Union Congresses sit with, among other things, closed doors?

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,
WALTER SICHEL.

THE TRANSPORT BILL.

To the Editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—In your "Notes of the Week" in your last issue, you state that the Ways and Communications Bill was passed without anyone challenging a division; may I say I not only challenged a Division, but stood up before the House to show my opposition to it, but being unable to get a second dissident it was impossible for me to insist on a division?

In support of the opinion you express in your Note, may I offer the opinion that more than half the Members of the House were personally opposed to the passing of the Bill? Such is the malign influence which the Government is exercising over the representatives of the people.

I am, yours faithfully,
RICHARD A. COOPER.

[This is another instance of the way in which debates are reported. We congratulate Sir Richard on his courage and independence.—ED., S.R.]

THE RISKS OF CAPITAL.

To the Editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—There is one aspect that the miners' leaders do not say anything about, and that is risk of capital. I have a friend who keeps a piece of coal on his mantelpiece. When outside brokers send alluring circulars, he looks at that coal, and they promptly go into the waste-paper basket. When he was a very young man, he was told with others that coal was a certainty in a particular part. The result was that tens of thousands of pounds were lost by those who risked their capital by becoming shareholders. But just suppose that coal had been found. Then, when wicked capitalists had had all the risks, a gentleman appears on the scene, and whether he has German or English money behind him does not matter, so long as he makes a good thing out of it by setting man against man and class against class, and he sets to work to make the men discontented.

It is said that the miner risks what is his capital, viz., his life and muscle, in working the mine. So does the hodman or bricklayer on a scaffold. Statistics show that miners run far less risk than sailors (15 per cent. against 29 per cent.) or railway men, etc., owing to in their case the fine supervision that the country pays for. What is difficult to understand is that, if a man who got say £2 a week before the war, now gets £4 or £5, while the coal owners pay 80 per cent. excess profit tax, the miner, who usually escapes income tax (in fact, apart from what he drinks and smokes pays no tax at all), does not pay a farthing in excess profit tax, though his income is doubled. The unfortunate doctor, and others who work from ten to fourteen hours a day, would like to have a similar arrangement. Coal may be said to be the keystone of the Bridge of Commerce. Now through the unbridled greed of one section of labour, the traffic on that bridge may be stopped. The community may starve for all that they care. Only the other day a contract was lost for £750,000 for locomotives. Manufacturers cannot give estimates if the screw is to be put on whenever it suits the miners. France and Belgium are ready to spend millions on new machinery, among our own workers, if the miners will give them a chance. If the working classes can only be got to understand that they are being exploited by the miners and losing employment, for the benefit of American and Japanese manufacturers, this tyranny will soon be stopped. Czars and autocrats can ruin a country, and so can labour tyrants. As for the wisdom of these latter, when the "Wait and See" Ministers were reducing our Navy, our Army, and thousands were sacked from Woolwich, did they raise a finger? When Lord Roberts warned us, did these very men back him up? There were some few noble exceptions like Mr. Blatchford, but the very great bulk of these well paid agitators had no more foresight, nor love of their country, than the lawyers who governed it.

ANDREW W. ARNOLD.

Junior Athenæum Club.

THE PRIMROSE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—The Primrose League has been so long before the public as one of the great organs of propaganda in this country that interest is excited as to what is going to be its position in the general confusion which surrounds all Parties at the present time. Founded largely by one of the most original of our junior public men, Lord Randolph Churchill, whose successful activities gave colour to our national life, it blossomed into an organisation which has spread over the United Kingdom. It has attracted throughout, and still does, in the person of its Grand Masters, the most eminent statesmen. Its organisation, by means of its Central Council, and its numerous branches, known as habitations, is perfect, and there can be no doubt that its broad principles, which amidst change are still unchanged, have taken hold of the mind of a large body of the public. The Primrose League was the first

great organisation to endeavour to attract the attention of women, and to enlist their sympathy and help, which its founders believed would take a notable part in the consideration of the great imperial and national questions of the day. Mr. Disraeli's adaptation of Lord Clarendon's motto, "*Imperium et Libertas*," has been taken as its watchword. The late Lord Salisbury, when Grand Master, gave the following note of warning:—"Property is marked out as the next object of radical attack. . . . Their efforts can only be met by a corresponding effort on the part of those who wish the ancient principles of property and the system on which this country has reached so vast a height of civilisation and prosperity to be maintained and upheld."

Although the League was not established as a party organisation, yet its sympathies have always been with the Unionist Party, to which it has been a valuable auxiliary. During the war its organisation has been largely devoted to providing for the needs and comforts of our combatants. In the recent elections we know that both by its male and female members it gave a whole-hearted support to the Coalition programme and contributed in full measure to the success of the Government in its avowed purpose of obtaining for the country, on terms consonant with our national interests, a secure and lasting peace.

That peace, to make which the League helped to give the Government its great majority, is on its way to conclusion. Afterwards, the Ship of State, or, in the light of modern facts, ought we not to say the Ship of Fools? is apparently to take a voyage on an at present uncharted sea, in which the shoals, the rocks and reefs are not yet marked, nor the coasts lighted. In that excursion we may hope, now that national are expected to supersede sectional interests, that the League, true to its fine old and unchanged principles of religion, constitution and Empire, will continue to play its part of independent thought and action, and that its members will think out the problems of the future for themselves, untrammelled by considerations of Party interests and unprejudiced by aims which may not be consistent with the welfare of all classes of this great country.

Yours faithfully,

A PRIMROSE LEAGUER.

ROUMANIA.

To the Editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—I have just read in your "Notes of the Week" the astounding statement "In Germany . . . Roumania, there are no Governments."

Being just back from Roumania and having personal knowledge of the Premier and several other members of the Government, I cannot begin to understand what you are driving at; but I hope you will correct in your next issue this extraordinary mis-statement about one of your Allies in whom I am interested. (I am not at first hand acquainted with Serbia and Greece.)

I am, yours faithfully,

W. H. GREENLY, Maj.-Gen.

Chief of Military Mission to Roumania.
Travellers Club, Pall Mall.

[By a government we mean one that governs: we fear that all too soon General Greenly will see what we are driving at.—ED. S. R.]

THE PRIME MINISTER'S CONTRACTS.

To the Editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—It is a pity that you should spoil what is quite a good Review by constant inaccurate statements.

I have several times, lately, taken upon myself the task of pointing this out to you, but you have always ignored my corrections of your mis-statements.

Is this honest?

In your current issue of 22nd March, at the foot of p. 270, you state that the son of the contractor of the Cippenham Stores "is married to the Prime Minister's daughter."

This is not true. It is the Prime Minister's son who is married to the contractor's daughter, which opens up much greater possibilities, as you may admit.

You should verify your facts.

Yours faithfully,

J. H. G. REID, Colonel.

[If the Colonel had discharged his self-imposed task with customary courtesy, his previous letters would have been published. Provided the mode of address is ordinarily polite, we are always willing to submit to contradiction or correction.—ED. S. R.]

REFERENCES.

To the Editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—What is one to do about the difficult matter of giving references? They often involve a delicate ethical problem; for a man who gives a good reference without justification seldom finds himself within reach of the law. For instance, a man may be asked to give a reference to a landlord on behalf of a friend, and he is asked whether the friend is likely to prove a "respectable and responsible tenant." The man may be quite aware that the friend, although ostensibly married, is really co-habiting with his deceased brother's widow, whom he married in the Channel Islands; or again, that he is co-habiting quite respectably and monogamously with a woman whom he cannot legally marry, although his own wife vanished five years ago to the Antipodes. In a case of this kind the man who gives the reference has to reflect whether he can honestly say that his friend is "respectable." The chances are that this description will never be challenged; but supposing that the friend in question committed suicide, or was murdered, or resisted a blackmailer, the whole story would then come out. As a solicitor in one of Mr. Wells's novels remarks, "A row's a row, and damned disgraceful; when there's not a row nothing's disgraceful." The sane view would seem to be that a man can properly be described as respectable in these circumstances, because the whole point of the inquiry is whether the landlord is or is not likely to lose by accepting the tenant; and if a sudden limelight is thrown upon the domestic circumstances of the tenant for any of the reasons above mentioned, the event which rouses public interest is quite as likely to prejudice the reputation of the house as anything else.

The word "responsible" perhaps raises a more delicate problem, because a man is often asked by a friend to give a reference without knowing what his income is, or whether, supposing his income to be adequate, he is in the habit of respecting his landlord more than other creditors. Perhaps the best reply in these circumstances is to say that from your knowledge of X he would not take any house of which he was unable to pay the rent.

The employer's reference is also apt to be full of pitfalls. If the clerk or servant in your employ has made your life a positive burden by incompetence, there is, perhaps, a laudable tendency not to close an avenue of employment to one the prospect of whose departure is already making the employer better satisfied with the world at large. On the other hand, he may have a fellow-feeling for the employer, and it is difficult to know how to balance these conflicting impulses. Perhaps the best plan is to be severely accurate without going into too much detail, so as neither to destroy the chances of employment nor to raise too great expectations in the new employer.

A good reference to a bad employee is, of course, very difficult to see through; but it is remarkable how a spiteful reference reveals its motive, however careful the disguise may be. In this case a judicious cross-examination of the servant whose character is attacked almost invariably brings out the real cause of the quarrel, and the cause of the quarrel is usually the one thing that it is important to know.

The really malicious employer may, of course, refuse to give any reference at all; but an employer very rarely does this without good reason. For, if he is malicious, he cannot usually resist the temptation of venting his emotion on paper.

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In the world of domestic servants it is well known that there has existed for some years a machinery whereby the servant is able by one means or another to obtain information about a prospective employer. Detailed information is, no doubt, often given at the registry office, but inquiries often go further, and if they do not actually penetrate the household, they get as far as the circle of local tradesmen. The day, however, may not be distant when it will be impossible to hire a servant except through a Labour Exchange, and when the employer will have to satisfy some haughty bureaucrat in regard to his or her capacity to make the servant really comfortable.

Yours faithfully,
E. H.

PELMANISM.

To the Editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—Supposing that the criticisms directed against the advertisements of Pelmanism were successful, and the confidence of the public in its work were destroyed, what would be the gain? A certain kind of culture which is not supplied elsewhere would be lost, namely, the psychological self-consciousness which may, if we choose, accompany our various efforts at learning. No attempt is made to impart this self-consciousness to students in our schools and universities, even by teachers who have themselves been trained in psychology. Their business is and can only be to impart their several subjects. And yet it is possible that the diffusion of this self-consciousness is the next great advance that is due in the development of our racial intelligence and civilization.

PSYCHOLOGIST.

To the Editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—A friend of mine asked me why the eminent men, soldiers, sailors, and fashionable authors, should not be handsomely paid for writing their "glowing tributes" to Pelmanism, and he compared them to expert witnesses. My reply, which I think you will endorse was, 1. That Lord Beresford, Sir Robert Baden Powell, Sir Arthur Quiller Couch, Sir William R. Nicoll, etc., were not experts on physical or mental training. The fact that a man is a healthy admiral or general of 70 doesn't imply that he knows how or why he is so. 2. That their evidence is based on hearsay. 3. That they are not known to be paid. 4. That the opinion of the Bar and the public about expert witnesses (assuming the eminent men to be such), is summed up in a well-known scale of mendacity.

Yours faithfully,
JUDEX.

POULTRY FARMING.

To the Editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—Practical men feel that the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries should take a more practical interest in the poultry industry and small-holder movement.

By a more practical interest I mean that they should pay helpful attention when some such person as a discharged ex-service man comes along with £500 capital and says to them, "I am anxious to invest this capital and work hard, if by so doing I can earn my living as a small-holder out of poultry farming or some similar outdoor occupation, and will be content, if I can make £4 a week or so, after paying all outgoings with the exception of my time, living expenses and the interest on my own capital."

In other words he says, "I have £500 and wish to take up some outdoor occupation. If I invest this £500 in an ordinary investment it may bring me in perhaps £25 a year, which nowadays is not of much practical use, and I shall either have to go out to a Colony or take up some indoor occupation, which I do not wish to do. Can you show me how to invest this sum here at home in some occupation such as poultry farming, so that I can do the work myself and not have to engage much, if any, outside labour and manipulate my £500 in such a way that it will bring

me in not less than £200 a year on which to live instead of £25, as it might, if ordinarily invested?"

If you can do this I shall be most grateful to you." If run on practical lines, the Board of Agriculture would be able to say to such a person: "We have several demonstrational small-holdings of our own, on which £500 (more or less) is invested and on which the income you mention (more or less) is now being made. You can go on to one of these small-holdings for six months or so and then will know exactly how to invest your £500 so that a living can be made from it. We do not, however, guarantee that you will be able to make one. Our demonstrational small-holdings are run merely to illustrate how capital can be invested so that useful incomes can be produced and whether you can produce one or not will depend upon your personal ability. All we can do is to put you on a safe road and show you how."

The Board of Agriculture, however, is not in a position to say this, and I am afraid never will be, unless forced to become more practical and to take a more common-sense view of things by the weight of public opinion.

Yours truly,
F. G. PAYNTER.

The Lawn, Lampton Road, Hounslow.
March 6th, 1919.

HOLIDAYS.

To the Editor of THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

SIR,—I see that the public wants reduced railway fares for the Easter Holidays, and that the professors of economics are saying it won't do, because the expense will come on the tax-payers. I should have thought the public health was as important as many of the crank schemes and the hordes of useless, incompetent, official "workers" for which the taxpayer still has to pay.

Nor am I persuaded to give up holidays by your excellent writer, "E. H.," who on March 8th declared that he had lost nothing by doing without them since August, 1917. He gets Sundays off for work outside his profession, which ought to be exhilarating, and he has had a change of work daily, as he goes from his profession to Government labour. These details, indicating variety, are in his favour. But let him beware, and remember what Tennyson said in 'In Memoriam':—

"Our little systems have their day."

He is a bold man to boast of his health in these days. I sincerely hope that pride will not lead to its proverbial sequel. As Sir Owen Seaman wrote many years since:

"Great is the wisdom of Nemesis,
All the wide world is her premises."

"E. H." seems to be in rather an exceptional position, if he could afford a motor-car before the war, and now has a garden to sit in. This last point, however, is not clear.

Oliver Cromwell (see S. R. Gardiner's monograph) invented the week-end. He took a Saturday to Monday relief at Hampton Court from Parliamentary business. I rather doubt "E. H.'s" generalisation about the modernness of holidays. Lamb went to France and the Lakes, and was certainly a daily professional man. Johnson went to France, Wales, and the Hebrides. But in the eighteenth century people travelled to improve their minds and see noteworthy things. They did not ride in motor-cars at a furious speed, which obliterates the aspect of the country and makes a town into a hazy collection of tombstones.

As for the "more spacious excursions in the air," which are going, in your writer's opinion, to displace the joys of the road, they will be pretty expensive for some time to come, and consequently be confined, like the pleasure of becoming brilliant or dying under illicit drugs, to a few select and wealthy persons.

Yours faithfully,
A BRAIN WORKER.

REVIEWS

TWO VIEWS OF ENGLAND AT WAR.

St. George and the Dragon. By J. Masfield. Heinemann. 5s. net.

Within the Rim. By Henry James. Collins. 6s. net.

THESE two views of England in the war are peculiarly interesting, not merely because of the quality of the two writers, but because the greater of the two is an American (who beautifully enough became an Englishman) explaining the English to themselves, while the other is an Englishman explaining (and defending) his people to the Americans. It is plain from these books, if it were not plain before, that the English stood dreadfully in need of explanation. Not merely did they need defence against enemy lies, and against their own Press, but above all against their centuries of silence and of pride in silence. Like an old-established house of business, they would not advertise, and their wares, however exquisite and unexpected, were only available to those who came of their own accord, and having come, searched deep.

Investigation in war-time was for a double reason necessary. There were two formidable enemies to be encountered who may be typified in the persons of Mr. Hearst and Lord Northcliffe, the first profoundly dangerous in a material, the second in a spiritual sense. Mr. Hearst did not pretend to explain the English, but with cunning that was not less because its coarse outline was exactly suited to the public he had educated, bitterly vilified them. Lord Northcliffe did attempt to explain his race, but he saw them not, as they most wonderfully are, but as he would have them be. The virtues of restraint, and individual freedom he would not permit his people to retain. He could not use their ancient quality of poise and humorous private courage. He could not abide their habit of shyly (without admitting it even to themselves) catching glimpses of something beyond the machinery of life in which they were caught. The soul of the English was, so it seemed, unassuming, but now and again, to quote Mr. Wells writing in another connection, it went out of view with a flight as that of an eagle seen through a staircase window. The England of Shakespeare and of Shelley meant nothing to Lord Northcliffe, or, if it meant anything, meant the insane root to be plucked out. The England he built was to be an England fit not for poets and simply decent persons, but an England controlled by business men. England, he cried, had the makings of efficiency! His Press would see to the fruition of that high ideal. While, therefore, a whole springtime of youth, with the ideals of youth, was being remorselessly butchered, Lord Northcliffe set himself out to kill, on behalf of the middle-aged and old, the traditional, and, in his despite, the unchanged, glory of the English.

Mr. Masfield's task in meeting the attacks of Mr. Hearst was easier than that of Mr. James, and perhaps because of that, worse accomplished. 'St. George and the Dragon' contains two speeches or lectures delivered in America. Mr. Masfield, a master of the written word, obviously found oratory a new and difficult art. Indeed he succeeds so little in the matter of style that his work deserves notice not on account of its literary merit but its substance. Mr. Masfield, who has certainly the spirit of the poet, approaches his great theme cap in hand, not in reverence to his subject, but because it would seem some pre-war defect in England abashes him not less than the severe perfection of the judging American. He apologizes for the times of King George III; and not content with that, he apologizes for those of George V in the days before the war. Of those days he says: "She was a nation which had outgrown her machine, a nation which had forgotten her soul, a nation which had destroyed Jerusalem among her dark Satanic mills." This race of sleepers, he tells America, awoke at the blast of the Belgian horn and became unexpectedly, one would imagine, "a race of men who went down to the death for a friend in trouble, as St. George did. . . ."

This is mere obliquity of vision due partly to the circumstances in which Mr. Masfield spoke, but at least as much to the influence, entirely unsuspected, of Lord Northcliffe. Mr. Masfield endeavours to explain away the England of "The Old Gang"—the England of Mr. Asquith, Mr. Redmond, Swinburne, and the heroes of the Titanic—and to substitute for it a new England. Mr. Masfield is too fine a spirit to worship efficiency and the triumph of the huckster, the Northcliffe goal. But he does tell the Americans that a new and utterly different England emerged from the fires of war—an England born again, irrevocably divided by suffering, by gallant endeavour and by insatiable death from the England of "The Old Gang."

He is, of course, utterly wrong. The truth of the matter is that the war is merely the sharper presentation of what England was at peace. The wonder of it is not the break, but the amazing, the beautiful continuity. This is the aspect upon which the great American dwelt with unerring and exquisite sincerity. Mr. James, when he wrote 'Within the Rim,' was an old man. His mind, we may suppose, hovered a little above the ordinary emotions that perplex and disturb. From a luminous height he can and does watch these immense events—the last and greatest confronting eyes used to a wide and a deep understanding. He watches not only from a spiritual, but from an earthly eminence. For he stands at the "look-out" in Watch Bell Street in Rye. The look-out is a watchman's turret on the neat red bluffs that are the walls of the immortal castle of Rye. Looking thence one sees the great marshes, and very far indeed the line of the sea that has forgotten the Cinque Port. Mr. James stood there in the intolerable serenity of the 1914 summer, and "Never," he says, with an equal certainty of diction and sentiment, "were desperate doings so blandly lighted up as by the two unforgettable months that I was to spend so much of looking over from the old rampart of the high-perched Sussex town at the light blue streak of the Channel. Just on the other side of that finest of horizon-lines history was raging at a pitch new under the sun; thinly masked by that shameless smile the Belgian horror grew." And to him so standing, so watching, the pure truth was made manifest. England's continuity, her truth to herself, to her past and her future became dazzlingly plain to this old artist at the end of a period of his own life. "This, as you can see better than ever before, is the rare, the sole, the exquisite England whose weight now hangs in the balance, and your appreciation of whose value, much as in the easy years you may have taken for granted, seems exposed to some fresh and strange and strong determinant, something that breaks in like character of high colour in a play." And again, "Wouldn't it be the thing supremely in character that England should look most complacently herself irradiating all her reasons for it, at the very crisis of the question of the true toughness?"

To add comment to this is impertinence. Mr. James did not consciously engage the Northcliffe chimera. It is quite possible that in the atmosphere in which he moved that name was unknown. None the less he has answered for England and the English before the war. We need not regret that this fine, undying tribute was that of an American. For one thing Mr. James did us what was high honour by becoming an Englishman, and for another it is amazingly true to England that she should wait for a seer of another race to shew her to herself.

THE LAST TWO YEARS.

Open Warfare. By Philip Gibbs. Heinemann. 10s. 6d. net.

IT is inevitable that these "collected dispatches" from the Western Front should be permeated by the trail of the War Correspondent. But they have the qualities of their defects, and we think Mr. Gibbs has, on the whole, been wise in publishing them virtually as they were. It is well to have a permanent record of such echoes from the scene of strife as were officially allowed to reach the public at home. They cannot be called history; scarcely, perhaps, the material for

history. But familiarity with their import will certainly be a necessity for future historians of the War, if only for the purpose of arriving at an appraisal of their value in the scheme of things.

Their first effect, when we re-read them in collective form, is to strengthen our impression of that wearing monotony which, despite the hideous refinements of modern warfare, appears to be its dominant feature. (No doubt it has been the same all down the ages. Homer's Greeks and Trojans were probably as much wearied by the sameness of their experiences as by any more poetic motives alleged.) On this there follows in natural sequence a respect still deeper, if that were possible, than before, for the men whose endurance was tested in every way imagination can conceive, and in others beyond even the scope of imagination. Personal memories come next into play with a sharp retrospect of those terrible days, barely a twelvemonth past, in which we struggled as we might with the temptation to despair of the republic; and of that intermediate period when through alternations of growing hope and ever recrudescing despondency we reached that spectacular catastrophe which even now seems half unreal.

This final volume of Mr. Gibbs's dispatches covers the last two years of the war, beginning from November, 1917. In his excellent, though all too brief, introduction he gives some idea of what he can accomplish, when the Censor's muzzle is removed. In a sincere spirit of appreciation we say that we look to him with confidence as the novelist of the war in time to come. With his remarkable gift for vivid, picturesque, and sympathetic writing and the treasure of authentic evidence at his disposal, he should do great things.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF INDIA.

Indian Studies. By General Sir O'Moore Creagh, V.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I. Hutchinson, 16s. net.

TAKE a bluff Irish sportsman, who has been five years Commander-in-Chief in India, knows that Empire like his pocket, and is full of humour and common-sense and patriotism; push him into an arm-chair by the smoking-room fire; make him talk for a thousand and one nights; summarise all his information; there you have the recipe for this illuminating work. The title is against it. So are the titles of the chapters. They led us to expect the dreary anecdotal of a retired official and the usual complaints that the country is going to the dogs. What then was our surprise to find a vivid survey of every Indian problem, each page brimming with interest for the non-Indian reader, ample food for thought and argument and laughter. But perhaps the chief praise is due to the author's wonderful gift of concentration. Five pages enable the most ignorant to appreciate the outlines of the history of India, four short chapters resolve the racial and religious perplexities, while the various problems of government, land tenure, military service and reforms are discussed with the same brevity and convincing wisdom. We know no work to compare with this modest volume as an exhaustive introduction to a gigantic subject.

What is the secret of this success? "I have spent over forty years of my life in India. I have often lived months together with natives without associating with Europeans; during that time I travelled in all parts of the country, living in both agricultural villages and great towns. I have many friends among all classes, high and low. I don't profess to know *all* India, but I do know certain parts of it extremely well; other parts well and the rest but indifferently. I have a considerable knowledge of the history, religion, languages, literature and folk-lore. I regret that I do not wield a more able pen." We, however, rejoice that he does not wield a more ambitious pen. He might have used flowery language and pompous periods, but he never would have convinced his readers as he has done by sheer knowledge and honesty and insight. And he teaches many lessons which doctrinaires persistently ignore.

First of all, there is the wide difference between India and Europe, with the consequent impossibility of applying all the pretty theories of Mr. Wilson and Pagett, M.P. The greater part of India is still ruled by the descendants of conquerors, who dream away their lives in harems, take little thought for administration, and farm out taxes to rapacious agents; or by parasite castes who impede all progress. Turkish rule presented no more shocking spectacle in its darkest periods. British authority has checked civil war and prevented invasion, though it is still much hampered by plague, famine and mediæval superstition. The burning of widows is forbidden, but they are still encouraged by their relatives to starve themselves to death. Polygamy thrives everywhere with all its attendant drawbacks, such as slavery and mutilation. We find "hereditary women servants, bought originally from their parents, still in a position little better than that of slaves. The seraglio is strictly guarded by eunuchs and females. I once asked a ruling chief how the supply of the former was kept up. He said they were born so!"

The only approach to a sense of self-government is to be found in the village communities, which explain whatever social stability has survived in India and may afford a basis for the advancement of the Indian peoples, if properly utilised by the Government. But "to introduce anything like home rule in the present condition of India, would simply mean a return to the worst of those evils which British rule ended. It is useless to talk of the unity of the Indian peoples. They are not united and never will be. From the earliest ages there has been strife between the various races or castes; those of one or more have oppressed the others, and their mutual cruelty and animosity is of ancient date. Their mutual animosity is latent under strong British rule; the way to remove it is not by ignoring it and raising cliques and individuals of one race or caste to power over others, but by giving those of each race and caste internal self-government under the British Crown. Western Statecraft rests on the axiom that the primary division of mankind is determined by racial and geographical conditions, patriotism that is, the devotion of the individual to the state, is the highest virtue. Among the races and castes of India this idea is not prevalent. The unit is not the nation. The English word patriotism is untranslatable by one word into any Indian language."

That is not to say there is no hope for India, but hope does not lie in the panaceas of British Liberals or the schemes of administrators who have never learned to understand the Indian peoples. The Government is sometimes out of touch with the people it rules. It is likely to drift further and further away from touch, if we may judge by the Montagu-Chelmsford report, which Sir O'Moore Creagh pulverises in his characteristic fashion. It is "such stiff reading" that "no one, save an expert from India, can follow it, and even then only after deep study"; it is "a work of special pleading for the wholesale transfer to India of the western system of democratic government, for which the country is quite unprepared." And Sir O'Moore is no mere critic, for he propounds real schemes of reform and pleads for them so cogently that we can only wonder why they have been so long ignored.

THE DARDANELLES GAMBLE.

The Dardanelles Campaign. By H. W. Nevinston. Nisbet. 18s. net.

A Gallipoli Diary. By Major Graham Gillam, D.S.O. Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.

AS a nation we are proud of our remarkable capacity for muddling through our wars. We not only make no preparation worthy of the name, but we seldom even give consideration to the problems involved until the war is actually upon us. All is then hustle and bustle to make up for lost time; the chiefs of the Army hurry out to the front; the War Office is disorganised; the educational establishments are

closed; a cheerful optimism reigns supreme; and a consensus of opinion gives three months as the time-limit of the war. When, finally, after some years our efforts are crowned with success, we hasten to hold a general election which, admirable soporific, induces forgetfulness of our early disasters and stifles recriminations. The last war was, however, an exception to the rule, inasmuch as the Expeditionary Force was, by a marvel of organisation, despatched to join the French Armies with remarkable secrecy and rapidity. As though ashamed of our forethought, we reverted, without delay, to our usual methods, which resulted in the two extraordinary expeditions to Antwerp and the Dardanelles.

Mr. Nevinson deals with the latter. His work falls naturally into three main phases: the origin and inception of the campaign: the actual operations: and the ultimate evacuation of the Peninsula.

In his treatment of the origin of the campaign, Mr. Nevinson quotes from the evidence given before the Dardanelles Commission, from which it appears that Mr. Churchill was the prime instigator and that he carried through his scheme by the sheer force of his personality and enthusiasm against the better judgment of the other members of the War Council. But the apportionment of responsibility will probably form the subject of controversy till the crack of doom or until another great war drives the matter from men's minds. Incidentally, Mr. Nevinson's short character sketches of the principal members of the War Council are interesting and serve to show the fashion in which the personality of leading statesmen influences the fate of armies, navies and nations. Lord Kitchener, who was supposed to exercise absolute control over the decisions of the War Council, appears in this instance to have contented himself with the mere statement that no troops were at that time available for an expedition to the Dardanelles, and to have washed his hands of any operation which might be undertaken by the Navy alone. There was, however, some hope that the Greeks might furnish the necessary land forces, but to this the Russians objected. The naval experts were, apparently, opposed to any attempt by the Navy alone to force the passage of the Dardanelles; but neither the naval nor the military experts who attended the War Council ventured to express an opinion; and their silence was taken for consent. The exact duty of the soldier or sailor in relation to the statesman has been the subject of controversy from time immemorial.

The naval attack on the Dardanelles was finally undertaken to relieve pressure on the Russians. In the result it failed to break through; yet, as Mr. Nevinson claims, it did to some extent ease the situation for the Russians. The purely naval operation "drifted" into a combined land and sea operation when Lord Kitchener could spare troops for the purpose. The naval attempt had, however, served to arouse the Turks, while the delay before troops became available gave them time to make preparations. And they nearly gave way.

Mr. Nevinson is himself strongly impressed by the importance of the operation as "a strategic conception surpassing others in promise." That the capture of the Dardanelles and Constantinople would have exercised the influence he claims for it on the general strategic situation is beyond question; and that it was a perfectly feasible operation, if it had been carefully and secretly prepared, is also beyond doubt. But one must not forget that the Armies on the Western Front were hard put to it to maintain themselves, and that the loss of the Channel ports would have been a serious blow.

Mr. Nevinson deals somewhat fully with the second phase of the campaign, the actual operations in the peninsula. His descriptions of the terrain are not easy to follow without maps of larger scale than those given in the volume. He shows, however, the tremendous difficulties to be surmounted by the troops; and, indeed, it is evident that victory was hardly to be expected when once the Turks, with their German leaders, had received warning of the intended invasion. The final effort at Suvla Bay certainly offered great possibilities, but only if it could have been executed by highly trained troops with an admirable staff.

The third phase, the evacuation of the peninsula, is dealt with shortly, yet it is, perhaps, the most interesting of all. To withdraw from an exposed beach in face of an enemy, after the prospects had been openly discussed in the Houses of Parliament, was a most remarkable feat of arms. Mr. Nevinson somewhat unnecessarily terms the report that the Turks had been bribed a "malignant depreciation of a most skilful enterprise."

The report is, however, hardly to be wondered at, when one considers that the Turks are peculiarly susceptible to bribery, and that the retreat, with practically no losses, was a positive miracle. If the forethought and meticulous preparation which made the withdrawal possible, had been given to the inception of the Dardanelles expedition, or later, to the landing at Suvla Bay, it is probable that the war, as a whole, would have run an entirely different course.

Mr. Nevinson treats of policy, strategy and tactics: Major Gillam's diary describes the everyday life of a supply and transport officer attached to an infantry brigade. He tells of the inner working of the machine, the formation of the supply depots, and the mighty transport of rations up to headquarters of battalions. Very interesting are the little homely touches descriptive of the unfailing cheeriness of all, and the numerous details (mere trifles from the historian's point of view) which go to make up the life of the subordinate soldier. He concerns himself but little with the general situation; he was not in a position to know much about it. He was, at the outset, quite confident of early success, and believed that a triumph in Gallipoli would carry with it victory over the Central Powers. As time went on, general optimism slowly gave way. The departure of the fleet, due to the arrival of German submarines, induced "a feeling of loneliness, almost of fear." The loss of regular officers also had its dispiriting effect, as had the constant shelling. But there was no loss of moral. There was no "back of the front" in the peninsula, every part of which was under a searching fire. Then came the heat and dust and flies in myriads, with the inevitable sickness—the "tummy troubles"—with the corresponding loss of nerve and hope. The doctor told him that a sick man always gets cold feet. An army fights as well as marches on its "tummy." Major Gillam went to the front line trenches, or the Navy, for optimists, and for pessimists to the over-worked administrative officers.

Then we have what we may term the rumour exchange at the water dump at Suvla Bay, where Sergeant Jones officiates, dispensing rumours to all and sundry.

The constant shelling, the diving for cover, the friendly visits to ships of war, to comrades and to the front line trenches, the description of scenery—all make up a most interesting story of an administrative officer's life on service. But surely diaries were strictly forbidden, lest they should fall into enemy hands!



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UNHAPPY ENDINGS.

The Grim Thirteen. Stories by Thirteen Authors, including Stacy Aumonier and Mrs. Belloc Lowndes. Hurst & Blackett. 6s. 9d. net.

IT appears that treacle is the keynote of American short stories to-day and a group of their writers recently contended that, if Poe were now alive, he would find no market for his tales. All agreed that, though their fiction was welcomed by the best magazines, anything grim or gruesome was invariably declined. They lamented this, because the fashion kills imagination and sets up a standard of arid technical excellence. So they determined to pool their rejected addresses and see how the public would stand them.

They are extravagantly praised in an introduction, and none of them is actually dull; but we remain unconvinced that their morbid character was the sole reason for their rejection. Certainly no one would be induced to read them for the sake of their titles. They are all far too diffuse for short stories, indeed, they might even be deemed long-winded as chapters in leisurely novels. Take the following passage as an example: "I went out of doors about one. It was a clear autumn day with a soft and humid air stirring. There was a wood, spreading over many miles beyond the town where I was used to walk, or just to lie on my back among the leaves. There the year was dying like a love-lorn queen, yielding herself passionately to death. And I took comfort in those woods and the dreamy, dappled light that was shed there. My mood changed. In truth, the land there is like a woman. It embraces you with all its colour and softness, and entrances and lulls like a love-philtre. Lying caressed under its gold and crimson. . . ." Surely one should not be forced to skip short stories: every word ought to count in the narrative.

Even such an artist as Mrs. Belloc Lowndes succumbs to the infection and offers us a long catalogue of the furniture in her heroine's bedroom. This heroine, in a story called 'The Parcel,' is the wife of a French mayor during the German occupation. When her husband goes over to visit a neighbouring town, she gives him a letter to smuggle through to her friends in Paris, and she sees no harm in mentioning that General Prince Botho von Bedingen and his staff are quartered at her house. The letter is found and her husband is shot for attempting to convey information as to the General's whereabouts. His clothes are sent to her in a parcel addressed "Madame Veuve Bissonnet," the first intimation of her widowhood. Then she stabs the Prince and is sent to a criminal lunatic asylum.

'The Day of Daheimus' is ingenious, but lacks the craftsmanship claimed for it in the preface. We have a miracle-working gipsy, whose boy is crippled in Daheimus's brewery. She vows vengeance, and when Daheimus is attacked by cancer, she appears with an infallible remedy. It is tried on cancer-patients in hospital and they recover. Then her son carries a phial to Daheimus, but it contained a poison instead of a cure and her vengeance is complete.

VESTMENTS.

English Liturgical Colours. By Sir W. St. John Hope and E. G. C. F. Atchley. S.P.C.K. 25s. net.

WHATEVER the closeness of connection between England and Rome before the Reformation, however tightly the bonds of the Canon Law were drawn, it is indisputable that there was always present to Englishmen, lay or cleric, the idea of an English Church. Even to-day churchmen of all parties look with satisfaction to a long line of historic continuity stretching back to the landing of St. Augustine. It was natural that at the time of the High Church revival in the last century a considerable number of the clergy should desire to emphasize this continuity by a return to pre-Reformation practice of dress and observance. Unfortunately, three centuries of almost entire desuetude had left them without a tradition for their guidance, and many of them followed the post-

Tridentine usages as far as possible, while others sought a guide in the symbolism of mediæval writers. Since then, antiquarian research has come to their aid, and much information has been got together as to what vestments, with their colour and material, were actually in use in our cathedrals and parish churches in pre-Edwardian times. Some of this evidence is derived from mediæval wills and documents of that sort recording the presentation of vestments and materials, and much of it from the inventories of church goods, while a third source is the local use of a few great churches.

The origin of liturgical colours goes back to the times when the churches were rich enough to possess more than three sets of vestments and altar hangings, a best for high festivals, a second-hand best for Sundays, and an every-day one. The vestments would then be allotted among the different feasts and saints' days by their colour. The scheme would, of course, differ from place to place. There is no necessary meaning attached to any colour, though black would seem appropriate to mourning, white to purity, and red to kings or martyrs. The long explanations of Darandus and his successors of the Scriptural meaning of the colours are without importance. "It is perfectly easy to put together quite as plausible a set of reasons for precisely the opposite or any other signification."

Leaving this aside, we come to the question, What colours were actually used in the English Church? The full list includes terms like popinjay-colour, crane-colour, and so on, but the colours chiefly found are red, white, green, yellow, blue, and black, and of these yellow and green, blue and black are liturgically equivalent. Of each of these colours many varieties of shade are mentioned. The earliest colour rules are of the thirteenth century, beginning with red for martyrs, white for Our Lady and her Virgins, green, yellow or brown for confessors, the best vestments for the great feasts. It would be tempting to follow the authors through the developments of the next two centuries, but we hurry on to the conclusions drawn by them as to the normal English use. If there is a Diocesan use, they advise the clergy to follow it, though there is no obligation on them to do so; if not, they supply a table which will act as a guide. The great feasts demand the best vestments, no matter what the colour or material, if not white; the Sundays after Epiphany and Trinity red; the week-days, the worst vestments. Other colours are appropriated to the occasional services and the lesser feasts.

The use of the book is made a little difficult by the absence, not of a plan, but of divisions indicating the plan on which it is put together. But this is remedied by an exceedingly useful Index and Glossary, which not only binds the book together, but is a mine of information in a very compact form. A coloured frontispiece, representing the treatment of the altar during Passion-tide, serves as a reminder that accurate representations of Church matters are very rare in mediæval art. The book is well-printed and forms a complete and trustworthy repertory of the available evidence.

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MOTOR NOTES

One of the maker's recommendations of a car we had in 1897 was that it emitted "no steam, no smoke, and no odour." Three very desirable characteristics, surely, but so common in modern cars that the motorist of to-day does not appreciate them. Yet one does see cars steaming or smoking occasionally, and it behoves the careful motorist to determine what these symptoms indicate. Steam from the radiator can only mean that the engine is overheating. This may be quite a temporary failing, due to an exceptional load or much low-gear work, or it may be the result of conditions which call for investigation. At all times a steaming radiator should be regarded as a warning, and no motorist should drive continuously with the cooling water at boiling point.

Smoke from the exhaust is of two distinct kinds. There is the blue and the black variety. One generally observes the former, and this indicates the less troublesome of two irregularities. A cloud of blue smoke blown out with the exhaust gases invariably means that the engine is over lubricated. For some reason too much oil is being passed through the lubrication supply system, or an overgenerous quantity has been poured into the crank case sump. No serious result can come from this excess, although it may delay the motorist by sooting up the sparking plugs, or by getting him into trouble with the police for permitting his car to be a nuisance. If the engine lubrication is hand-controlled, the remedy is obvious; if it follows the splash or an automatic system, it is best to let it work itself off as unostentatiously as possible.

When the smoke emitted is of a dense black or sooty character, trouble of quite a different kind may be diagnosed. This variety is caused by an over rich mixture being supplied to the engine. An excess of

petrol or a deficiency of air through the carburettor are alike objectionable. No engine can pull its best on an over rich mixture, and this always means that spirit is being wasted. When a car persistently gives out black smoke the carburettor should be adjusted. Generally there is an extra air inlet that can be opened by moving a collar or slide. On light cars where the engine control follows motorcycle lines, there may be in addition an extra-air lever, that can be manipulated in driving. It should be the driver's aim to give all the air possible consistent with good running. Sometimes one finds the trouble to persist when the full supply of extra air is given. The remedy then is to reduce the petrol by fitting a smaller jet.

Wide interest has been aroused by the proposal to promote a great motor race about the end of June next in the Isle of Man. The race, if it takes place, will be under the auspices of the Royal Automobile Club. At the moment the Club are waiting to ascertain what measure of support the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders would accord the event. The R.A.C. have already organised the details of the projected race, and it is widely hoped among motorists and others that the trade will feel disposed to favour the event. Those who will remember the great motor races which were held in the Isle of Man in pre-war days, would be very glad to see an early revival of a Motor Derby. The race suggested for June next would be confined to cars, and it is thought in motoring circles that by that date such a number of post-war models may have been created as to make it an extremely interesting event.

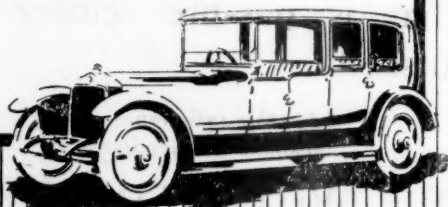
But the period of transition from a war to a peace output through which the motor trade is now passing, presents exceptional difficulties, and the actual promotion of the race must depend upon the manufacturers.

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THE CITY

De-control in finance is proceeding more rapidly than had been expected by the most ardent advocates of emancipation. Mr. Chamberlain has taken two wise decisions. The highly complex question of the foreign exchanges might have been discussed for ten years and at the end of that time there would still be some ground for maintaining the artificial rate. The sooner the country gets down to fundamentals in regard to supply, demand, labour and capital the better it will be for business in the long run. Credit may be a delicate plant, but hot-house control will never give it strength. If the value of sterling in dollars declines, as expected, now that the Exchanges are free from artificial support, it will encourage our exports and discourage imports from America; but the Americans may be relied upon to keep the rate as high as they can.

Similarly with new capital issues Mr. Chamberlain has done the right thing in removing restrictions from issues of capital for domestic purposes, except that British Empire should be substituted for United Kingdom. The public in this case will exercise the necessary consorship and promoters will find difficulty in getting any issue underwritten on reasonable terms unless it is likely to meet with a fair public response. Investors will have a wide selection of new securities to choose from in the next few months and in the meantime the trend of quotations of existing securities will be downward. The large majority are too high, judged by the yields they give after deduction of income tax, and a reaction is now overdue. It will do no harm except to those who, having superfluous money during the war, were obliged to invest it without scrutinising costs. For many months it has been impossible for brokers to execute buying orders of good stocks at quoted prices owing to the limited supply and the freedom of new issues will remove that deadlock.

The scandal of the Grand Trunk as exposed by the chairman (Mr. A. W. Smithers) with remarkable reserve, last week, is worse than had been previously reported. For the ten years to the end of 1916 (including two war years) the Grand Trunk earned an average of £915,500 net in excess of fixed charges. With these figures before them the Canadian Government had the effrontery to offer as purchase consideration an annuity of £500,000 for three years, £600,000 for the following five years and £740,000 thereafter. In other words, the Government proposes deliberate confiscation of a very considerable portion of the railway's capital and income.

The treatment of the Grand Trunk stands out in vivid contrast with the arrangements made with the Canadian Northern Railway. After having subsidised that line year after year to enable it to compete with the Grand Trunk Pacific the Government bought it out at an extravagant price by paying a substantial sum for capital which was nothing but water. This is a matter which interests not only Grand Trunk stockholders, but British investors generally. It is capable of only one conclusion: the Canadian Northern was generously treated because it represented Canadian money; the Grand Trunk represents British money and therefore may be robbed with impunity. It is curious that a coterie of politicians acting for a nation will stoop to methods which in their personal capacity they would condemn as dishonourable.

A more favourable complexion is placed on the Argentine railway situation by the declaration of an interim dividend of 1 per cent. by the Buenos Ayres Great Southern line. It indicates that, although traffic returns are unsatisfactory and the political situation leaves very much to be desired, the directors take a confident view of the future; otherwise they would postpone decision on dividends until the conclusion of the financial year in June.

GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY CO.
OF CANADA

A SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING of above Company was held on 21st inst., at Cannon Street Hotel, to receive a statement as to the negotiations with the Canadian Government.

Mr. A. W. Smithers presided, and in the course of his remarks said: "The Government offer is to pay an annuity of £740,000 per annum at the end of eight years, over and above Fixed Charges; our offer is to take an annuity of £977,000 immediately, plus what an arbitrator might give over and above that amount, or an immediate annual payment of £1,163,000 without arbitration. Our contention is, that the Grand Trunk Pacific should be treated with the same consideration shown the Canadian Northern, which, after our arrangement with the Government, amounting practically to a partnership, was actually subsidised by the Government, during many years, to build hundreds of miles of lines competing with, and, in many cases, paralleling in close proximity, the Grand Trunk Pacific. The Government contend that the Grand Trunk Company must be held to any legal liability it has incurred for the Grand Trunk Pacific, or, if they take over the Grand Trunk Pacific, they will only take it on condition that the Grand Trunk is sold to them on the Government terms. We have offered, in response to the request of the Government, to sell the Grand Trunk at practically the average earnings of the last ten years—or at least twelve, if the adverse conditions under which railways were compelled to operate had received due consideration in 1917-1918; so that, if the Government took us at the price we have asked, they would be obtaining the Grand Trunk on a basis which would nearly repay them what we ask, the Government thus paying next to nothing for the whole reversion of the future, which, in a country with the resources and wealth of Canada, must be of untold value."

The proceedings were full of interest, and of lengthy duration. The Chairman's facts were well marshalled, and he gave a masterly survey of the position from his point of view.

A resolution was unanimously carried, supporting the action of the Board, and expressing the opinion that the amount offered by the Canadian Government was insufficient.

The Board was requested to convey to the Canadian Government the desire of all classes of shareholders for a friendly understanding, and the appointment of a Committee of Consultation from the largest shareholders of the various stocks was asked for.

WEST SPRINGS, LIMITED

(INCORPORATED IN THE TRANSVAAL.)

NOTICE TO SHAREHOLDERS.

SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS in the above Company, will be held in the Board Room, Second Floor, "The Corner House," Johannesburg, on Friday, the 23rd day of May, 1919, at 10.30 o'clock in the forenoon, for the following business:—

1. To receive the Reports of the Directors and Auditors, and to consider the Balance Sheet for the period ended 31st December, 1918;
2. To fix the remuneration for the past audit, and to appoint Auditors for the ensuing year.
3. To transact such other business as may be transacted at an Ordinary General Meeting.

The London Transfer Registers of the Company will be closed from the 23rd April to the 26th April, 1919, and the Head Office Transfer Registers from the 19th May to the 6th June, 1919, all days inclusive.

Dated Johannesburg, 15th March, 1919.

By Order,

EDMUND SHEPHARD,

Secretary to the London Committee.

London Transfer Office:

5, London Wall Buildings,
Finsbury Circus, E.C.2

21st March, 1919.

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VICKERS & METROPOLITAN WAGON FUSION

IMPORTANCE OF BIG-SCALE OPERATIONS IN NEW CONDITIONS.

AN EXTRA-ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING of Vickers, Ltd., was held at the Riverdon Works, Sheffield, the 24th inst., to consider resolutions placing the company in a position to give effect to an offer which, subject to the approval of the shareholders of Vickers, Ltd., had been made by the Metropolitan Carriage Wagon and Finance Company for the purchase of shares in that Company in exchange for shares in Vickers, Ltd., or, in the alternative, for cash. Mr. Douglas Vickers, M.P., presided, and there was a large attendance.

The Chairman said that the proposals to be considered at that meeting were due largely to the changes brought about by the war, for they were giving the opportunity and creating the necessity for doing business on a scale hitherto not reached by British manufacturers, but left to German and American competitors. It was the conviction of all who had studied the engineering trade, especially the foreign trade, that in the past British manufacturers had been handicapped by making in too small units. This principle was not confined to the engineering trades. For instance, the great American Steel Trust before the war had an output of steel greater than all the English steel firms combined. The two German electrical firms, their American rivals and the American Machine Tool Works were all on a stupendous scale and commanded reserves unapproached in this country.

COMBINATION OF ALLIED INDUSTRIES.

It was perfectly obvious that organisations such as these had been able to initiate and follow a well-defined and continuous policy impossible of attainment by a large number of firms working individually, even if the total output was the same. It was obvious that tremendous advantages could be obtained in selling if they had one agency in each place, instead of a large number of separate ones. He emphasised the fact that the proposals before the shareholders were not for anything in the nature of a trust. Trusts were unpopular in this country. It was a combination of various allied industries, each supplementary to the other, using each other's products, and forming a complete organisation capable of handling within itself practically all the elements necessary for the largest electrical generating and transportation problems. There was no menace to the public, and they were asking for no monopoly. What they expected to get was advantages secured by economy of production, by economy in selling, by strong finance, and by the great power and influence which the company's outstanding position would give them. The best fields now open to the heavy side of engineering were those connected with transportation and electrification, or both. They were already well equipped with their fine shipyard and engine works at Barrow for the marine side of transportation. They had fine motor-car works, and had also the necessary works and experience for transportation by air, both by airships and aeroplanes. As to transportation by rail and electrification, they were intimately bound together, and the new proposals foreshadowed in the Ministry of Ways and Communications Bill, which in their opinion were bound to eventuate before long, would be of great magnitude, and therefore present a more favourable opportunity for their operations. Added to this there was an enormous amount of wear and tear to be made good in this country and abroad in the war areas. Destruction had to be replaced, and in the Dominions and foreign countries arrears had to be carried out.

DEMANDS FOR ELECTRIFICATION.

As to the European part of this work, there was no doubt that in the past Germany would have taken the lion's share. He hoped that this country would now take that, and that the combined firms they were trying to bring together would have a large part of England's share. The electrification of this country would bring with it a host of minor requirements. For every 100,000 horse-power going with a super power station more than 200,000 horse-power of motors would be required by the users of current. Transformers, switches and a vast number of things would add immensely to the amount of electrical material required when general electrification of the country began. The company's proposals, if accepted, would unite them with the finest electrical works and carriage and wagon shops in the country, and would put them in a unique position to deal with these problems on the largest scale. The Sheffield works, the parent works of the firm, would feed the others producing the finished article. Of course, what he said must not be taken to indicate any neglect or want of confidence in their own trades or the new ones on which they had embarked; for instance, the sewing machine trade, but such machines or heavy oil engines were, after all, comparatively small businesses to a big firm like this, as they did not use a large quantity of steel or employ their heavy machinery.

The Chairman moved the formal resolution already published agreeing to the fusion of the two companies and the increase of capital to £28,500,000 by the creation of 6,000,000 new Ordinary shares of £1 each and 7,000,000 Accumulative Preference shares of £1 each.

Sir Trevor Dawson seconded and the resolution was carried, there being one dissident.

The meeting also approved of alterations of the articles of association providing for the appointment of managing directors or managers.

A further extra-ordinary general meeting of the Company is to be held on 10th April for the purpose of confirming the above resolutions.

SPRINGS MINES, LIMITED

(INCORPORATED IN THE TRANSVAAL.)

NOTICE TO SHAREHOLDERS.

TENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the TENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS in the above Company will be held in the Board Room, Second Floor, "The Corner House," Johannesburg, on Friday, 23rd day of May, 1919, at 12 o'clock noon, for the following business:—

1. To receive the Reports of the Directors and Auditors, and to consider the Balance Sheet and Revenue and Expenditure Account for the period ended 31st December, 1918.
2. To confirm the appointment of Mr. W. E. Hudson as a Director in the place of Mr. H. S. Johnson who resigned.
- To elect two Directors in the place of Messrs. W. E. Hudson and H. Newhouse, who retire by rotation in terms of the Articles of Association, but are eligible and offer themselves for re-election.
3. To fix the remuneration for the past audit, and to appoint Auditors for the ensuing year.
4. To transact such other business as may be transacted at an Ordinary General Meeting.

The London Transfer Registers of the Company will be closed from the 23rd April to the 26th April, 1919, and the Head Office Transfer Registers from the 19th May to the 6th June, 1919, all days inclusive.

Holders of Share Warrants to Bearer desirous of attending in person or by proxy, or of voting at any General Meeting of the Company, shall produce their Share Warrants for verification, or may, at their option, deposit same as follows:—

- (a) At the Head Office of the Company in Johannesburg at least twenty-four hours before the time appointed for holding of the Meeting; or
- (b) At the London Office of the Company, 5, London Wall Buildings, E.C.2, at least 30 days before the date appointed for the holding of the Meeting.

Upon such production or deposit, Certificates, with Proxy Forms, will be issued, under which such Share Warrant Holders may attend the Meeting either in person or by proxy.

Dated Johannesburg, 15th March, 1919.

By Order,

J. H. JEFFERYS,

Secretary to the London Committee.

London Transfer Office:—

5, London Wall Buildings,
Finsbury Circus, E.C.2

21st March, 1919.

THE EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY ASSURANCE CORPORATION, LTD

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Employers' Liability Assurance Corporation, Limited, was held on the 26th inst. in London. The Right Hon. Lord Claud Hamilton (chairman of the company) presided, and in moving the adoption of the report and accounts, congratulated the shareholders upon the results obtained. The total premiums amounted to £5,095,301—exactly 50 per cent. increase on the premiums of 1917. That was the largest premium they had ever obtained, and the increase in 1918 was the largest in any single year in the history of the company. That increase was derived from all countries where they operated, and all branches of business undertaken by the corporation. As to profit and loss, the balance from revenue account was £750,018, or, adding the interest and rents, they had a total fund of £894,488, from which sundry expenses had to be deducted, leaving £676,665. They had made a special reserve of £250,000 for excess profits taxes. He wished to bring that prominently before them to show what a substantial contribution such a company was called upon to pay towards the revenue of the country. The dividend of 28s., free of tax, per share, compared with 20s. per share for 1917. In addition, they were paying a further £42,000 on behalf of the shareholders in respect of income tax. The dividend might seem large on the money put into the business, but it amounted to only 2½ per cent. on their premium income or turnover, and it was quite misleading for policyholders to think that any such profit as 70 per cent. was being made out of their insurances. The ability to pay such a dividend and the ability to entertain vast schemes of insurance was due to the wisdom of the course which the Board had consistently pursued, and to the patient assent of the shareholders to that policy from the commencement, which had enabled the large fund to be built up of thoroughly sound investments yielding annually a good rate of interest. The question of capitalising part of the reserves had had the serious consideration of the directors, but they had come to the conclusion that the time had not arrived when they could safely propose such a course to the shareholders. As soon as they felt the time was ripe, they would not hesitate to recommend it. There was one other point on which he would say a few words, namely, the splitting of the shares into smaller denominations, thereby reducing the liability per share. On that point the Board had quite an open mind. If a suggestion to do that were made for any substantial number of shareholders they would be prepared to carry it out.

Sir Philip H. Waterlow, Bart., seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

LAMPORP AND HOLT LIMITED

SIR OWEN PHILIPPS ON INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

THE SEVENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING of Lamporp and Holt (Limited) was held 20th inst. at the Company's Office, 36, Lime Street, Sir Owen Philipps, G.C.M.G., M.P., the chairman, presiding.

The Secretary (Mr. W. J. Moynihan) having read the notice convening the meeting and the report of the auditors,

The Chairman said:—Gentlemen, the position of the Company is clearly set out in the accounts which are before you to-day. These accounts show a reduction in our profit as compared with the previous year, due to our entire fleet being, for the whole period under review, under requisition to the Government, to whom all earnings were credited, the company receiving hire money at Blue-book rates for the use of its vessels. Under these circumstances, we have not been able this year to add to the reserve account, which stands at £600,000, but we recommend the payment of the same dividend as for the last three years, viz., 10 per cent.

"STRONG FINANCIAL POSITION."

The company is in a strong financial position. Our paid-up share and Debenture capital and reserves amount to over three-and-a-half millions sterling, whilst the fleet stands in our books at a very moderate figure. Our vessels hitherto engaged upon direct war service, or under requisition to the Ministry of Shipping, are gradually being returned to us, though reconditioning necessarily occupies considerable time. We are concentrating our attention upon the resumption of our normal trades, with such resources as we now have available for the purpose. As you know, this company has been specially affected by the war in regard to important trades which it had created and built up. To meet national interests some trades had to be abandoned altogether for the time being, and in view of the expansion which has taken place in the mercantile marines of America and other countries, we may find it by no means easy fully to re-establish ourselves in our ordinary sphere of operations.

One of the greatest difficulties which confront British shipping is the replacement of tonnage lost in the war, and in this respect the liner companies have suffered severely, because, although the net loss of tonnage in the British mercantile marine may not appear to be so alarming as might have been supposed, the replacements have consisted almost entirely of cargo vessels of the simplest type, and the construction of high-class liner tonnage has been largely suspended during the war, whilst the loss of such vessels by enemy action has been heavy. It must not be overlooked what high-class liner tonnage has meant to us and the Allies in winning the war, nor how vital it is that our position in this respect should be re-established as promptly as possible. Our plans are handicapped by the enormously enhanced cost of shipbuilding, which ranges about two-and-a-half times pre-war prices, and our revenue must increase proportionately if we are to meet depreciation and earn a profit on our capital that is invested in vessels purchased at present prices. As regards the fleet of Lamporp and Holt, we are perhaps more fortunately placed than some others in this matter, as our total tonnage now stands at slightly above the figure for 1914, owing to the number of new steamers we had ordered prior to the war which have been delivered to us by the builders, and our having been able to replace a certain number of war losses during the war.

INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

Having successfully come through four-and-a-half years of war, the country is now passing through a very critical time for trade and commerce. Many people are greatly concerned at the industrial unrest in our midst. The effort to secure better rates of pay and shorter hours of labour is in itself not an unhealthy sign in a progressive community, so long as the workers realize that the only way permanently to improve their condition is so to reorganize industry as to enable the total production of the country to be substantially increased. In recent pre-war years Great Britain lagged behind America in this respect, as is shown by the various statistics of production. I hope the result of the publicity which has been given to the evidence before the Coal Inquiry Commission may incidentally lead to a truer perception of the relatively small charge on industry which is taken as interest on the capital employed, after allowance is made for the large proportion of so-called profits which is taken by the Government in the form of income-tax, excess profits duty, and super-tax.

NATIONAL COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY.

Personally, I feel that the real danger before the country at the present time is not the labour unrest, of which we have heard so much, but the grave risk we are running owing to the state of uncertainty that exists in regard to the commercial and economic policy of the nation. If this is not definitely settled and promptly announced, and the necessary legislation to carry it into effect speedily passed, I fear the working men of this country will have to face a period of leanness and unemployment which will be much more serious for the social and domestic well-being of our people than any temporary labour unrest. We are still at war, and until peace is signed everyone is bound to continue to put up with regulations and restrictions which otherwise they would not willingly endure, but it is essential that the present restrictions on industry, trade, and commerce, under the hampering effects of which the whole enterprise and energy of the country is labouring, should be promptly and completely removed when peace is signed.

The prosperity of our company is largely bound up with the progress of the great South American Republics, and it is satisfactory to note that conditions in these countries are promising, whilst there are encouraging indications of future development and expansion. The outlook is qualified, however, by the labour unrest and disturbances in the Argentine, which have affected our operations considerably and delayed our steamers. We are glad to have our colleague, Lord Pirrie, with us to-day, and look forward to his being able to resume active participation in the conduct of our affairs, which, as I explained to you last year, he was obliged to suspend on account of his having undertaken the important position of Controller-General of Mercantile Shipbuilding. Now that his duties in this connexion are likely to be less exacting, he will have more time to devote to the company's interests.

TRIBUTE TO THE STAFF.

Though our steamers have been under requisition to the Government, their management has been in our hands, and with so many of our regular staff absent on service with the Forces, the work has been carried on under considerable difficulties. I desire to express our thanks to our managing directors (Mr. George Melly and Mr. Arthur Cook) and to the members of our staff for the care and attention they have devoted to the interests of the company in the trying times through which we have passed. Unfortunately, we have lost a number of valuable employees in the war, with whose relatives we deeply sympathize, but the majority of those who have done gallant service for their country are now, I am glad to say, returning to their former positions. In addition to their usual contributions to the Lamporp and Holt Line Superannuation Fund Association, the board have this year made a special donation of £5,000 to the fund, which I feel certain the shareholders will warmly approve. I now beg to move "That the report of the board and the accounts and balance-sheet submitted to this meeting be and the same are hereby received and adopted; and that a dividend of 10 per cent. per annum, less income-tax, for the year ended December 31, 1918, be and the same is hereby declared."

Mr. George H. Melly seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Right Hon. Lord Pirrie, K.P., P.C., proposed the re-election of Sir Owen Philipps, G.C.M.G., M.P., as a director of the company.

Mr. Arthur Cook seconded the resolution, and it was unanimously agreed to.

On the motion of Mr. D. I. Conradi, seconded by Mr. Alex. Lee, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse, and Co., were re-appointed auditors.

The proceedings then terminated.

BRAKPAN MINES, LIMITED

(INCORPORATED IN THE TRANSVAAL.)

NOTICE TO SHAREHOLDERS.

SIXTEENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the SIXTEENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS in the above Company will be held in the Board Room, Second Floor, "The Corner House," Johannesburg, on Friday, the 23rd day of May, 1919, at 2.30 o'clock in the afternoon, for the following business:—

1. To receive the Reports of the Directors and Auditors, and to consider the Balance Sheet and Revenue and Expenditure Account for the year ended the 31st December, 1918.
2. To confirm the appointment of Mr. W. E. Hudson as a Director in the place of Mr. H. S. Johnson Hall, resigned.
- To elect two Directors in the place of Messrs. W. S. Saunders and H. Newhouse, who retire by rotation in terms of the Articles of Association, but are eligible and offer themselves for re-election.
3. To fix the remuneration for the past audit, and to appoint Auditors for the ensuing year.
4. To transact such other business as may be transacted at an Ordinary General Meeting.

The London Transfer Registers of the Company will be closed from the 23rd April to the 26th April, 1919, and the Head Office Transfer Registers from the 19th May to the 6th June, 1919, all days inclusive.

Holders of Share Warrants to Bearer desirous of attending in person or by proxy, or of voting at any General Meeting of the Company, shall produce their Share Warrants for verification, or may, at their option, deposit same as follows:—

- (a) At the Head Office of the Company, in Johannesburg, at least 24 hours before the time appointed for the holding of the Meeting.
- (b) At the London Office of the Company, 5, London Wall Buildings, E.C.2, at least 30 days before the date appointed for the holding of the Meeting.
- (c) At the Office of the Crédit Mobilier Français, 30 and 32, Rue Taitbout, Paris, at least 30 days before the date appointed for the holding of the Meeting.

Upon such production or deposit, Certificates, with Proxy Forms, will be issued, under which such Share Warrant Holders may attend the Meeting either in person or by proxy.

Dated Johannesburg, 15th March, 1919.

By Order,

J. H. JEFFERYS,

Secretary to the London Committee.

London Transfer Office:—

5, London Wall Buildings.

Finsbury Circus, E.C.

21st March, 1919.

ANGLO-PERSIAN OIL SATISFACTORY DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNDERTAKING.

FURTHER EXTENSIONS IN PROGRESS.

THE NINTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Ltd., was held on the 26th inst. at the registered office, Britannic House, Great Winchester Street, E.C., Mr. Charles Greenway (chairman and managing director) presiding.

The SECRETARY (Mr. F. Macindoe) having read the report of the auditors,

The Chairman said: Gentlemen,—Dealing with the balance-sheet, first of all you will see that the paid-up capital shows an increase on the previous year's figures of one and three-quarter millions, due to the payment by His Majesty's Government of the final call on their Ordinary shares and to the issue of a further £1,000,000 of participating preference shares, and we have also issued additional debenture stock to the extent of £1,800,000. You will, moreover, notice that our capital resources have been further augmented to the extent of about £2,400,000 by funds lodged with us by our associated companies, share premia and allocations to reserve accounts. The deposits of our associated companies represent, I may explain, insurance recoveries in respect of torpedoed vessels, undivided profits and other funds, the bulk of which will in due course be required in connection with further capital outlay which lies before them for the various developments they have in view. It has been suggested in the Press that we may shortly have to make further capital issues. That is not so. Although we and our associated companies have a very large amount of new capital outlay to meet in order to provide for the requirements of our rapidly expanding business yet I am pleased to say that there is no immediate need for any new issue of capital, inasmuch as our available surplus assets to-day in cash or easily convertible securities (including no less than £2,302,000 invested in War Bonds and War Loans) amount to between five and six million pounds, a sum quite ample for our present requirements. Turning to the credit side of the balance-sheet, you will see that the first item of our assets has increased from £1,982,791 in the previous year to £7,001,375. This large increase is practically all accounted for by the purchase prices paid by us for the companies acquired in 1917 and by the fresh capital which we have taken up in these and other associated companies.

I will now deal with the profit and loss account. The trading profit for the year amounts, you will see, to the very satisfactory sum of £1,516,994 3s. 9d. after making ample allowances for depreciation, as against the conservative estimate of not less than £800,000 to £1,000,000 which I gave when dealing with the previous year's accounts. A substantial portion of this profit was, I may explain, due to the earnings of our fleet, for a portion of which during the year under review we were able to find very remunerative employment. This item of profit will not recur in the following year's accounts, because during the greater portion of that year our boats were under requisition at rates which will barely cover running expenses; and also the profits of our distributing companies will be on a reduced scale. On the other hand, we shall benefit by a larger throughput at our Abadan refinery and by better prices which have been obtained for some of our products, and on the whole I think we can confidently anticipate results for the current year fully equal to those shown in the accounts now before you. As you will see from the appropriation statements given at the foot of the profit and loss account, we have out of our profits paid off the advances of £175,547 3s. 6d. made by the Burmah Oil Company in our early days to enable us to pay the preference share dividend guaranteed by them, and also the sum of £45,843 10s. 5d. due to them for interest thereon, this latter amount being included in the first item on the debit side of the profit and loss account.

We have also written off the whole cost of our last preference shares and debenture issues, and allocated a total of £330,000 to various reserve accounts, both of which steps will no doubt meet with your full approval. This leaves a balance of £779,708 18s. 1d., out of which we have paid dividends amounting to 8 per cent. per annum on the preference shares, and we now recommend the payment of a similar dividend on the ordinary shares. The balance remaining to be carried forward will be £454,722 12s. 1d., which we estimate will amply suffice to cover the amount which will be payable in respect of excess profits duty, although the amount of this has not yet been definitely settled with the Revenue Commissioners. This result is, I think you will agree with me, one of which we have every reason to be proud. The dividend which we are proposing to declare on the ordinary shares is not a very large one, but, as I have explained, a large amount of our profits have been employed in the liquidation of special liabilities which will not recur, and a further large amount has been reserved to meet excess profits duty—a liability which also we may hope will not recur for very much longer.

It will be borne in mind that these are results achieved at a time when the company was only in its early infancy. With the various extensions already on the way, the throughput of our refineries will within the next year or two be trebled, and other extensions which we hope to arrange for in the near future should, when completed, bring our throughput up to five times or six times the quantity dealt with in the year under review; and, as I have indicated on previous occasions, we anticipate no difficulty whatever in finding markets for this largely increased production. Our one and only difficulty is to provide refining, transport and storage facilities fast enough to enable us to meet the demands upon us for our products. We have practically an unlimited supply of crude oil, and with the great increase in the demand for oil products of all kinds resulting from the enormous development of motor traction in every part of the world and for fuel oil as a substitute for coal for steam-raising and other

purposes there is endless scope for us in the direction of the sale of our products; but the laying of additional pipe lines, the building of further refineries and tank vessels, the erection of the great number of large storage tanks required at our fields, refineries and distributing installations to meet our constantly increasing throughput and all the other engineering work connected with an undertaking such as ours is a slow process, particularly under present unfavourable conditions both as to supply of material and labour, and consequently it will be several years before we can hope to reach the maximum figure of throughput which I have just indicated. Though our throughput will, as soon as the necessary work can be completed, thus be very largely augmented, it must not be inferred that our profits will necessarily expand in the same ratio, for our working costs, due to the much higher cost of plant, stores, chemicals and labour, are on a constantly increasing scale, and there is little chance of any appreciable reduction in them for a long time to come. Still, we hope to be able to overcome these higher working costs.

I am pleased to report that the work carried on since I last addressed you further confirms the opinions we have previously held as to the great productivity of our fields. The wells in the field from which we have hitherto been obtaining our products still maintain their extraordinarily high rate of yield, and the wells already drilled are, it is estimated, capable of yielding a production at the rate of 5,000,000 tons per annum. On the field adjacent to it, to which I referred at the last meeting, another well at a distance of about one mile from the preceding one has struck oil in considerable volume, the well being reported upon as being equal to any yet struck in the company's territories. In the third field referred to in my last speech little progress has since been made owing to the lack of drilling material, but the prospects are still satisfactory. Testing operations are being carried on, or are about to be started, in a further six fields, all of which give promise of favourable results. You will also be interested to learn that we are now substituting electric for steam-power in our producing fields, a change which will result in greater efficiency and a minimum of cost for drilling and producing generally.

Since I last addressed you the first of the refinery extensions at Abadan, to which I then referred, has been completed and brought into operation. The further extensions for which capital was issued a little over twelve months ago have not yet been completed owing to the great delay which has been experienced in obtaining delivery of plant, but they are now well in hand and should be completed during the year. A further large addition at Abadan has now been decided upon to enable us to meet the rapidly growing demand in the East for our fuel oil, and will be undertaken as soon as plant can be contracted for at reasonable prices and delivery. In addition to our extensions at Abadan, we have now commenced the erection of a large refinery near Swansea, where the refining of such products as are marketable in the United Kingdom can be carried on more thoroughly and more economically than at Abadan. The work at this refinery, the initial capacity of which will be twice that of the whole of the Scotch shale oil companies, is being executed with all possible speed.

The additional pumping stations referred to by me at the last meeting are now in course of erection and should be in operation during the course of this year. We have also decided upon the laying of an additional 10 inch line from the fields to our present 8 inch line, in place of the present 6 inch line which will further considerably augment our pipeline capacity between the fields and the Persian Gulf. We shall, when this line is completed, have one complete 10 inch line from the fields to the Gulf and another line made up of 10 inch pipe for about half the distance and 8 inch for the remainder.

Our fleet now amounts to a total deadweight capacity of 162,000 tons, and, as mentioned in the report, we have placed orders for further vessels of a total capacity of about 150,000 tons. We also purpose purchasing further ready tonnage whenever opportunities occur for securing it at reasonable prices. All of our vessels which were requisitioned by the Shipping Controller have now been released, and such as are not required at the moment for our own transport work have been chartered at remunerative rates.

I am pleased to say that the political situation in Persia has improved very much during the past few months. The present Persian Cabinet is well disposed towards this country, and the unrest which existed some time ago as the result of German and Turkish intrigue, followed by the spread of Bolshevism from the Caucasus, has now largely disappeared. Our relations with the Persian Government continue to be of a friendly character, and a representative of the company is now in Teheran discussing with them the settlement of various questions which are outstanding between us. I was hoping to be able to announce to-day the result of these discussions, but so far no advice has been received. I wish to take this opportunity of expressing our regret at losing the valuable services of His Excellency Sadigh-es-Sultaneh, who is giving up his post of Imperial Commissioner to this company to take up the more important position of Minister of His Imperial Majesty the Shah at the Court of Washington, and, at the same time, the Board would like to offer him their heartiest congratulations upon his new appointment. Our relations with His Excellency have always been of a most friendly and cordial character, and we are greatly indebted to him, because he has always done his best to promote the interests of the company, as well as those of his Government. His brother—Farid-es-Sultaneh—has been appointed by the Persian Government as his successor, and I am sure that he will do his utmost to maintain the policy of friendly co-operation established by his brother.

I now beg to move:—"That the report of the directors, balance-sheet and profit and loss account for the year ended 31st March, 1918, be received, approved and adopted."

Sir Frederick W. Black, K.C.B., seconded the motion.